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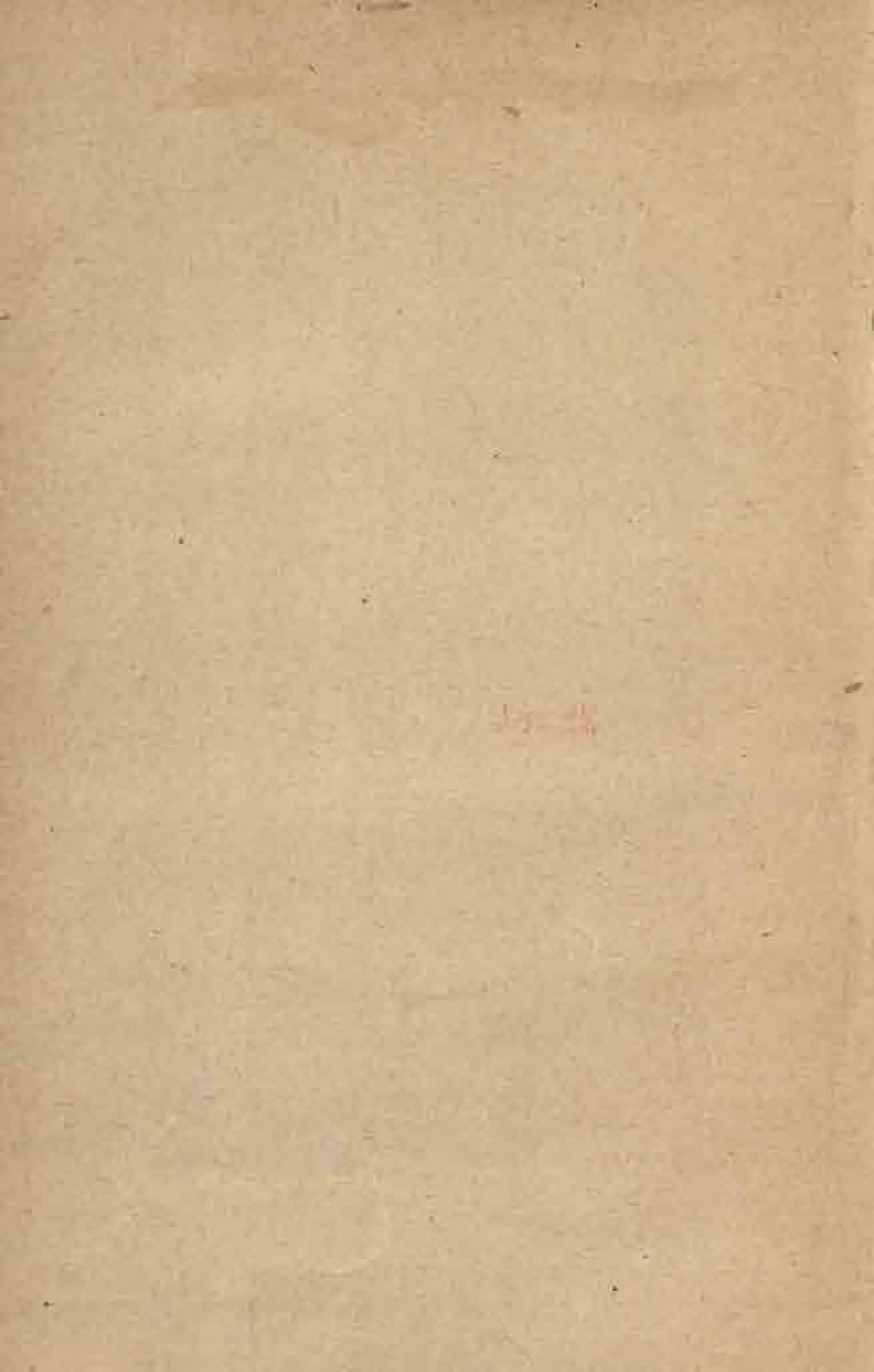
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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES





THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

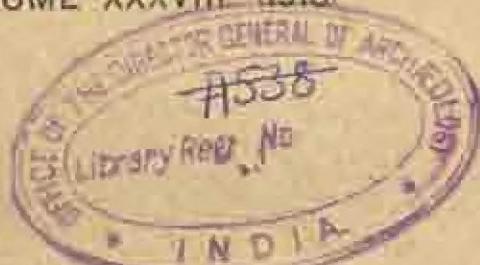
OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

25984

VOLUME XXXVIII. (1918)

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

i. The objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

x

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society all subscriptions, donations, or other money accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.
19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.
20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.
21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.
22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.
23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.
24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.
25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of Candidates so proposed; no such election to be valid unless the Candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.
26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.
27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.
28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrears of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bona fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 MCGOWTHWAY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation for August and the first week of September.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions —

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow six volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.

(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

(6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

X. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

(4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

XI. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries:—

a. Libraries of Public and Educational Institutions desiring to subscribe to the *Journal* are entitled to receive the *Journal* for an annual subscription of One Guinea, without Entrance Fee, payable in January of each year, provided that official application for the privilege is made by the Librarian to the Secretary of the Society.

b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians are permitted to purchase photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.

c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to have lantern slides.

d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.

e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.

f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

The Library Committee

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 10 Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

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- *Brown, James, Netherby, Galashiels, N.B.
- Browne, Mrs. Gore, Oakhill House, Abingdon.
- Browne, Rev. Henry, St. Ignatius, 35, Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.
- Browne, Miss Leslie, q.v. Manor Road, Bishop's Stortford.
- Browne, Hon. W. Napier, C.B., 14, Hanley Gardens, S.W. 1.
- Bridgeman Bruce, Lord Frederick, 11, Gloucester Gate, Regents Park, N.W. 1.
- *Bruce, The Rt. Hon. Viscount, D.M., D.C.V.O., D.C.L., Ian D. F.R.A., V.P.A.
Hindleap Ferry Road, Asturias.
- Buckler, W. H. Coggeshall, American Embassy, 3, Kensington Gardens, S.W. 1.
- Buckler, Miss W. H. Welland, Taplow.
- Buckler, Miss I. R. Welland, Taplow.
- Burdett, Rev. Rowland John, St. Peter's Flushing, Chichester.
- Burn, Miss Van, Via Fabrizio, 30, Rome.
- *Burashy, R. B. High Street, Upton, Kent.
- Burnet, Prof. J. F.B.A., 12, Queen's Terrace, St. Andrews, S.D.
- Burnett, Principal Ronald (Connell), King's College, Strand, W.C. 2.
- Burnett-Brown, Miss, Priory Field, Godalming.
- Burr, Prof. J. R. LL.D. Litt.D., D.Litt., F.R.A. King's College, Cambridge.
- Bushie, Brig.-Gen. F. Drummond, Rathmullan, Co. Donegal.
- Burke, Prof. H. C., Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- Burke, Prof. H. C., 34, New Cavendish Street.
- Buron, Mrs. A. F. Fairhill, Tonbridge.
- Callander, Prof. T., Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.
- *Calvocoressi, L. M., Junior Tennis Club, 11, Edgbaston, W. 1.
- Calvocoressi, Paul J., Holme Hey, Crayke Drive, Liverpool.
- Cambridge, A. W. Pickard, Halliel College, Oxford.
- Cameron, Lieut. Col. J. S. D.S.O., 1st W.M., Reitersden, Ashford, Kent.
- Campbell, Miss Lewis, 92, Herne Court, Kensington, W. 8.
- Cappa, Prof. Edmon, Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- Carry, Miss, 15, Edson Road, Kennington, W. 8.
- *Cawle, A. D., Northgate, Gostling.
- Cawle, Miss Helen, Upper Broad Street, Ellerker.
- *Carmichael of Skirling, Right Hon. Baron, v. Mr. J. A. Murray, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

- Carpenter, Miss Agnes Miles, 54, East 57th Street, New York, U.S.A.
 Carpenter, Rev. J. Estlin, 11, Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.
 Carr, H. Wildon, D.Litt., 107, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W.3.
 Carter, Frank, Ashdown, Winchester.
 Carter, Reginald, Gestumor School, Bedford.
 Cartwheel, Miss, 6, Albert Place, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.8.
 Case, Miss Janet, 5, Windmill Hill, Hampstead, N.W.3.
 Case, Prof. T., President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
 Casper, M. O. B. (Conwell), University College, London, W.C.1.
 Cassavetti, D. J., Savile Club, 103, Piccadilly, W.1.
 Casson, Stanley, 34, Quality Crescent, Cheltenham, S.W.5.
 Caton, Richard, M.D., Holly Lee, Liverpool Road, South, Liverpool.
 Cawley, T. F., Eton College, Windsor.
 Chambers, Edmund Kirchever, Board of Education, Victoria and Albert Museum
 Exhibition Room, S.W.1.
 Chance, Frederick, 33, Lower Norwood, S.W.14.
 Chapman, Miss D., University Hall, Fairfield, Liverpool.
 Chapman, R. W., 5, Holland Road, Oxford.
 Chase, George H., 12, Shady Hill Square, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 Chavasse, A. S., Lynch Rectory, near Mithunton, Lancs.
 Chitty, Rev. George J., Eton College, Windsor.
 Churchill, F. L., Eton College, Windsor.
 Churchill, Rev. W. H., Stone House, Broadhurst.
 Clark, Charles R. B., 12, Victoria Grove, Romington, W.1.
 Clark, Rev. R. M., Denstone College, Staffordshire.
 Clark-Maxwell, Rev. W. Gilchrist, St. Leonard's Rectory, Bridgnorth.
 Clarke-Smith, Miss L., Hotel Royal, Rome.
 Clarke, Somers, F.S.A., c/o E. Somers Clarke, Big, 4, Ship Street, Brighton.
 Cliftonwood, Mrs. K., 12, New Road, Reading.
 Clinton, A. C., Harefield House, Harefield, Herts.
 Clay, G. F., 4, Kensington Park Gardens, W.8.
 Clements, P. (C.S.), Dhulla, W. Kandahar, India.
 Cohen, Captain Donald H., 5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
 Cole, A. C., 64, Portland Place, W.1.
 Collingwood, Robin George, 30, Bedford Gardens, W.8.
 Colville, Sir Sidney, D.Litt., V.P., 33, Portland Gardens, Kensington, W.8.
 Compton, Miss A. C., Minstead Passage, Lyndhurst.
 Compton, Rev. W. C., Sandhurst Rectory, Kent.
 Conyn, Heaton, Hill Cottage, Orpington, Kent.
 Connal, Prof. D. M., The University, Leeds.
 Conway, Prof. R. S., Lit.D., Driethen, Dilbury, Manchester.
 Conway, Sir W. M., Allington Castle, Macclesfield.
 Conybeare, F. C., F.B.A., LL.B., 64, Hanover Road, Oxford.
 Cook, Arthur Bertrand, 19, Cromer Road, Cambridge.
 Coole, Sir T. A., Brockenhurst, Tidworth, Wilts.
 Cooke, Rev. A. H., Aldenham School, Elstree, Herts.
 Cooke, Richard, The Cross, Dorking, Maudsley.
 Coulson, C., Magdalene College, Oxford.
 Corber, Enriaco E., C.M.G., Rock House, Howarth, Manchester, near Macclesfield.
 Cosley, Ferndell E., Ferndell, Nongambakulum, Malaya.
 Crawford, Capt. F. M. (Conwell), Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Cransing, Prof. H. K., Bunderstrasse 17, St. Gall, Switzerland.
 Coupland, Reginald, Trinity College, Oxford.
 Courtauld, Miss Catherine, Rock, Great Missenden

- Coote George S., &c. The London and Provincial Bank, 127, Edgware Road, N.W. 2.
- Coxens-Hardy, The Hon. Mrs. J. Halkin Place, S.W. 1.
- Crane, J. F., Elton College, Wimborne.
- Crawford G. R., 119, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.
- Crooke, W., Langham House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
- Crossman, C. Standard, Knebworth Hill House, St. Albans Hill, Essex.
- Crowfoot, J. W., Khartron, London.
- Cunliffe-Brown, Prof. A. H., The University, Durham.
- Culley, Mrs., 56, Torrington Square, W.C. 1.
- Curt, Lionel, Daubie House, Hatchet, Wimborne.
- Dakyns, G. D., Grammar School, Morpeth.
- D'Alton, Rev. Prof. J. F., St. Patrick's College, Monmouth.
- Daniel, A. M. (Council), 14, Royal Crescent, Scarborough.
- Daniel, Rev. C. H., Provost of Worcester College, Oxford.
- Danson, F. C., 74, Hildon Road, Brixton Hill.
- David, Rev. A. A., The School, Knysna.
- Davies, Prof. G. A., The University, Glasgow.
- Davis, Arthur B., 337, East 57th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- Davis, Miss Gladys M. N., M.A., D.Litt., Convent of the Sacred Heart, 28, West Hill, London, S.E. 18.
- Dawes, Rev. J. S., D.D., Chippendale, Grove Road, Surbiton, S.W.
- Davies, Miss E. A. S., M.A., D.Litt., 11, Grove Road, Surbiton.
- Dawkins, Lieut. R. M., R.N.V.R. (Council), Pier Park, Llandudno, N. Wales.
- De Billy, Madame Edouard, 4, Rue de Tallyrand, Paris, VII^e.
- De Burgh, W. G., University College, Reading.
- De Gex, R. O., Clifton College, Bristol.
- Dementail, A. C., Heathlands, Prestwich, Lancashire.
- Denehill, G. C., The Elms, Saltergate Park, Prestwich.
- De Rothschild, Anthony, 5, Hamilton Place, W. 1.
- De Saumarez, Lord, Shrubland Park, Coldenham, Suffolk.
- Desborough, Right Hon. Baron, Pancras, Hertford.
- Devbaer, Frau Dr., 7, Ernst Weizsäcker Straße, Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Kreuzberg 1 Pr.
- Dickins, Mrs Guy, 10, Bevington Road, Oxford.
- Dickson, Miss Isabel A., 17, Pelham Crescent, S.W. 7.
- Dill, Sir S., Montpelier, Malone Road, Belfast.
- Dobie, Maryat R., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- Dobson, Miss, Alice, Battledown, Cheltenham.
- Dohrmann, Prof. J. F., 64, Coldharbour Road, Holland, Bristol.
- Dowd, Rev. C. H., Mansfield College, Oxford.
- Doll, Christian, 3, Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, W.C. 1.
- Douglas-Pennant, The Hon. Alice, Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, N. Wales.
- Downing, William H., Matlock, Uttoxeter, Staffordshire.
- Drake H. L., Pembroke College, Oxford.
- Drewe, J. P. (Council), Farborough Farm, Langley, Bucks.
- Dryhurst, A. R., 11, Devonshire Hill, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
- Duff, Prof. J. Wight, Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Duhn, Prof. von, University Heidelberg.
- Dundas, H. H., Phantassie, Prestonkirk, East Lothian.
- Dunham, Miss A. G., 15, Oxford Road, Wimborne.
- Eagleson, Arthur J., 27, Hampstead Way, N.W. 4.
- Earp, F. R., 15, Seven Park, Richmond, Surrey.
- Eaton, Alexander C. 10th Baron, Hermonshire Regt., 203, Neville Road, Forest Row, London, S.E. 2.

- Hedges, C. C., *Council, Antiquities Dept., Mincourie, Egypt.*
 Edgar, C. S., *Kya Lomé, Stellenbosch, South Africa.*
 Edmonds, J. Macmillan, *Sixty-Seven Cottage, Sherry's Way, Cambridge.*
 Ellin, Sir Francis E. H., C.C.M.G., *Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.*
 Elly, Talfourd, D.Litt., *Council, 12, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
 Ecclestone, Mrs. Arundell, *Keynes, Avenham, Garstang Cross, Blackpool.*
 Elmer-Sopanis, George, *Clarendon House, West Clarendon, near Goldthorpe, Durris.*
 Emmanouelou, N., *24, Pentridge Gardens, W. 2.*
 Evans, Sir A. J., LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S., F.R.A. (V.P.), *Yaldbury, Hereford, near Oxford.*
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 Evans, Miss Jean, *St. Hugh's College, Oxford.*
 Evans, Richardson, *The Kite, Wimbledon.*
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 Farwell, William, *38, Blamey Gardens, S.W. 1.*
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 Gardner, Miss Alice, *8, Cavyngton Road, Clifton, Bristol*.
 Gardner, Miss Emma, *A. V.P., Tadworth, Surrey*.
 Gardner, Prof. Percy, F.B.A., *Litt.D., D.Lit., V.P., 12, Canterbury Road, Oxford*.
 Gantley, Samuel, *Dobkurst, Horsham, West Sussex*.
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 Hartung, Prof. J. D.Sc., *Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool*.
 Haseloe, S. 73, *Linden Garden, Hove, Brighton, W. 2*.
 Gates, Miss S. M., *15, York Road, Exeter*.
 Hennet, E. *Jesuit College, Oxford*.
 George, W. S., *Architect, 1, York, Rajah, Delhi, India*.
 Geeson, H. T., *22, St. John's Street, Oxford*.
 Gibson, Mrs. Margaret D., *B.Litt., LL.D., Canon, 2nd, Chichester Road, Cambridge*.
 Gilney, A. R., *The College, Wetherby*.
 Giles, Dr. P., *Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*.
 Gillespie, C. M., *6, Hollins Lane, Fox Hollins, Leyton*.
 Green, R. L., *Cole Court, Hammersmith Road, W. 14*.
 Glover, Miss Helen, *Youngbourn Road, Buxton, Derbyshire*.
 Godley, A. D., *77, Newgate Road, Oxford*.
 Golding, Prof. W. A., *Litt.D., Trinity College, Dublin*.
 Gommie, A. W., *2, Justice Walk, Church Street, Chester, Cheshire*.
 Goodhart, A. M., *Eton College, Windsor*.
 Gosford, The Committee of, *Calatrava, Sunningdale, Berks*.
 Gow, A., *17A, High Street, Ellesmere*.
 Gow, Rev. James, *Litt.D., 60, Deans Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1*.
 Green, G., *Buckland, 21, Dean Terrace, Edinburgh*.
 Green, Mrs. J. R., *88, Grosvenor Road, S.W. 1*.
 Green, C. H., *The School, Great Berkhamsted*.
 Greene, Herbert W., *4, State Buildings, London, S.W. 1*.
 Greenwood, H. G., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge*.
 Gresham, Prof. B. H., F.B.A., *D.Lit., Queen's College, Oxford*.
 Gyllenkaer, C. S., *3, Hyde Park Gardens, W. 2*.
 Gurney, Miss Amelia, *69, Emmanuel Gardens, S.W. 1*.
 Hankford, R., *Sister Ursula College, Cambridge*.
 Hadow, Sir W. H., *Mrs. Dr., Principal of Ambleside Girls' School, Ambleside*.
 Haigh, Mrs. E. A. R., *52, Connaught Street, Mayfair, W. 1*.
 Haines, C. R., *Meadeleigh, Farnham*.
 Hall, Capt. H. R. (Council), *22, King Henry's Road, Primrose Hill, N.W. 1*.
 Hallam, G. H., *Ortley House, Hampstead, N.W. 3*.
 Hallinan, W. H., *B.Litt., The University, Liverpool*.
 Halsbury, The Right Hon. the Earl of, *1, Barnardine Gardens, S.W. 1*.
 Hamond, H. E., *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 Harrison, Ernest, *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 Harrison, Miss J. E., *L.L.D., D.Lit., Council, Arundel College, Cambridge*.
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen*.
 Hart, Frank, *15, Windsor Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3*.
 Hart, General, *1, Lodge, Highgate, N.*
 Hassell, F. W., *The Wilderness, Southgate, N.*
 Hauser, Dr. Friedrich, *Platz 1, Ober-Gussau 41, Reutte, Tyrol*.
 Haussauer, Dr. *1, Rue Sainte' Odile, Paris*.

- Haworth, Prof. F. J., F.R.A., LL.D., *Winsteads, Huntington Hill, Oxford.*
- Haversham, Right Hon. Lord, *South Hill Park, Brixtonell.*
- Hawes, August G., K., 32, *Netherhall Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
- Headlam, Rev. Canon A. C., D.D., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
- Headlam, J. W., 29, *Mrs. Headlam, 3, St. Mary's Road, Wimbledon.*
- Heward, Rev. W. A., *Fetter Lodge, Edinburgh.*
- Heath, Charles H., 22, *Hogby Road, Birmingham.*
- Hebenlin, C. B., *Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.*
- Hebert, Lionel H., *West Mount, Winchester.*
- Henderson, A. E., 512, *Lordship Lane, Stratford, S.E. 22.*
- Hens, The Hon. Mrs., *Rodley Lodge, Burnley.*
- Henry, Prof. R. M., *Queen's University, Belfast.*
- Henry, Mrs. Douglas, 117, *Eaton Square, S.W. 1.*
- Herford, Miss M. A. B., 3, *Parkfield Road, Didsbury.*
- Hewitt, W. R., *Duraford House, Eastern Road, Brighton.*
- Heywood, Mrs. C. J., *Chatsley, Pendleton, Manchester.*
- Hicks, F. M., *Stratley Lodge, Wixbridge.*
- Hill, George F., F.B.A. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- Hillard, Rev. A. E., *St. Paul's School, West Kensington, W.*
- Hiller von Gaertringen, Prof. Friedrich Freiherr, *Ehrenkruh Allee 11, Westend, Berlin.*
- Hirschberg, Dr. Julius, 25, *Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, Germany.*
- Hira, Miss Gerrards, 5, *High Street, Saffron Walden.*
- Hodges, Harold W., *Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.*
- Hodgson, F. C., *Abbotsford Villa, Twickenham.*
- Hogarth, Commr. David G., R.N.V.R., C.M.G., F.B.A. (V.P.), *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*
- Hogarth, Miss M. J., *The Red House, Westleton, Suffolk.*
- †Holborn, J. H. S., 1, *Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.*
- Holding, Miss Grace E., 19, *Hilltop Road, N. 7.*
- Holt, R. H., 13, *Laurie Park Road, Sydenham, S.E.*
- †Holroyd, Michael, *Stardis House, Berkswell Avenue, Weybridge.*
- Hopkins, R. V. Nind, 88, *Hampstead Way, N.W. 3.*
- Hopkinson, Rev. J. H., 33, *Pearth Road, Colne, Lancs.*
- Hoppin, J. C., *Gamblins, Pooniat Centre, Camp, U.S.A.*
- Hort, Sir Arthur F., Bart., *Newlands, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*
- Hose, H. E., *Dunwich College, Dunwich, S.E.*
- Hotton, J. E. H., I.C.S., 1, *Mercure, Grimbury 2^o Cr., P.O. Box 63, Bombay.*
- House, H. H., *The College, Matara.*
- How, W. W., *Merton College, Oxford.*
- Howard de Walden, The Right Hon. Lord, *Seaford House, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.*
- Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., F.R.S., 15, *Licham Gardens, S.W. 3.*
- Hügel, Baron F. von, 15, *Pleasance Gate, W. 2.*
- Hughes, Reginald, D.C.L., 46, *Comptyne Gardens, South Hampstead, N.W. 6.*
- Hunt, Miss A. D., *St. Andrew's Hall, Reading.*
- Hunt, Prof. A. S., F.B.A., D.Litt., *Queens College, Oxford.*
- Hutchinson, Sir J. T., *Lorcan Hall, Cumbria.*
- Hutchinson, Miss Durie, *St. Peter's Hill, Granton.*
- Hutton, Miss C. A., Council, 19, *Dryden Gardens, S.W. 10.*
- † Hyde, James H., 18, *Hut Adelphi-Yam, Paris.*
- Image, Prof. Selwyn, 28, *Parkhurst Road, Holloway, N.*
- Jackson, Prof. Henry, O.M., F.B.A., Litt.D. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- Jackson, Mrs. Hunt, 64, *Hulme Gate, S.W. 7.*

- James, Mr. G., 58, Eastland Gates, S.W. 1.
- *James, The Rev. H. A., D.D., President of St. John's College, Oxford.
- James, H. P., Foxworth, Shropshire, 1902.
- James, Miss L., West Woods, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire.
- James, Lionel, School House, Malmesbury.
- James, Montague Rhodes, F.B.A., LL.D., Provost of Eton College, Windsor.
- Jamison, Captain R. C., Avenue Velasquez, Paris.
- Janner, Mr. Thomas A., 2, The Henry B. Drake, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Penn., U.S.A.
- Jernome, Miss F. H., 45, Albert Hall Mansions, S.W. 1.
- +Jeselnick, Miss K., Girton College, Cambridge.
- Johnson, Miss Anna A., Wimbley, Altringham.
- Jones, Maurice, The Steel Exchange, Capel Court, F.C. 2.
- Jones, Henry L., Willington School, Nantwich.
- +Jones, H. Stuart, F.B.A. (V.P.), Glyndor, Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorganshire.
- Jones, Ronald P., 208, Colchette Court, South Kensington, S.W. 5.
- Joseph, H. W. B., New College, Oxford.
- Kahnweiler, Miss Berthe, 120, West 57th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- Keith, Prof. A. Berriedale, D.Lit., 122, Stewart Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Kennedy, J., 51, Palace Gardens Terrace, Camden Hill, W. 8.
- Kewington, Miss Frances, 145, Gloucester Terrace, High Park, W. 2.
- Kenyon, Lieut. Col. Sir Frederic, K.C.B., F.B.A., D.Lit., V.P., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- Ker, Prof. W. P., F.B.A., 33, Grosvenor Street, W.C. 1.
- Kester, Dr. J., Grande Basseire, 62, Route de Chine, Geneva.
- King, J. E., Clifton College, Bristol.
- +King, Mrs. Wilson, 19, Highfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
- Kipling, Mrs. J., East Albert Road, Liverpool.
- Knight, Miss C. M., D.Lit., 4, Christchurch Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
- Lalancet, M. I. W., 60A, Dennington Park Road, W. Hampstead, N.W. 6.
- Lamb, Miss W., Holly Lodge, Camdon Hill, W. 8.
- +Lamb, W. H. M., 5, Cambridge Terrace, Ken.
- Lane, Mrs. Charles T., Dangstield, Petersfield.
- Plansdowne, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.I.M.G., Honourable, Colne, Wilts.
- Laurie, George E., Royal Academician Institute, Belfast.
- Lauzier, Miss de, Swift, Biarritz, Souza.
- Lawson, The Hon. Mrs. M., South Audley Street, S.W. 1.
- Lawson, J. C., Pembroke College, Cambridge.
- Leah, Walter, LL.D., D.Lit., President, 6, Savile Place, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
- Leeds, Her Grace the Duchess of, 11, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.
- Leeper, Alexander, LL.D., Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.
- Leeper, A. W. A., 4, Palace Street, S.W. 1.
- Leigh, F. G., Gray's Inn Square, W.C. 1.
- Lehmann-Haupt, Prof. C. F.
- Leigh, W. Ainsen, Marpeth, Roehampton, S.W.
- Lemon, Miss L., 35, Lenzieha Place, Edinburgh.
- Lethab, Prof. W. R. (Cawell), 113, Inverness Terrace, W. 2.
- Lewis, Malcolm, 12, Holland Park Avenue, W. 8.
- Lewis, Harry R., 18, Upper Philimore Gardens, W. 2.
- Lewis, J. G. R., c/o Advocate J. A. Green, Rhoda Building, St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- Lewis, L. W. P., 3, Bishop Avenue, Gaithersburg, near London.

- *Lewis, Mrs. Agnes S., Phil. D., D.D., LL.D., Castle-bray, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
- Lincoln, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Old Palace, Lincoln.
- Lincoln, Very Rev. the Dean of The Deans, Lincoln.
- Linton, Miss Julia, 74, Shantell's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E. 3.
- Linsell, Miss Alice, Newnham College, Cambridge.
- Livingstone, R. W., Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
- Llewellyn, Raymond.
- Lloyd, Miss A. M., Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.
- Lloyd, Miss M. E. H., née Morris, Humphrey Lloyd & Sons, 26, Church Street, Manchester.
- *Lock, Rev. W., D.D., Warden of Keble College, Oxford.
- Loeb, James, Koenigstrasse 14, Munich, Germany.
- *Longman, Miss Mary, 61, Langbourne Road, Holland Park, W. 4.
- Lorraine, Miss H. L., Somerville College, Oxford.
- Lowe, Miss D., Hinton St. George, Crewkerne, Somerset.
- Lovibond, C., The School House, Tonbridge.
- Luzz, Dr. Stephen H., University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- Lunn, Sir Henry S., M.D., 3, Upper Woburn Place, W.C. 1.
- *Mazan, R. W., Master of University College, Oxford.
- McCrann, Rev. Justin, O.S.B., Ampleforth Abbey, Ampleforth, York.
- McCurdy, Miss G. H., Ph.D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.
- McCutcheon, Miss K. H., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
- Macdonald, George, C.H., F.R.A., LL.D., 17, Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- Macdonald, Miss Louisa, Wimborne College, Sydenham University, Sydney, N.S.W.
- McDowell, H. C., Twyford School, Twyford, near Winchester.
- Macdonell, P. J., Office of Public Prosecutor, Livingston, N.W., Rhodesia.
- McDougal, Miss Eleanor, Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.
- MacEwan, Mrs., 5, Dumbarton Crescent, Edinburgh.
- McIntyre, Rev. P. S., Hibberdstone Vicarage, Hebbie, Ulver.
- MacIver, D. Randall, 151, East 6th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- Macmillan, Mrs. Alexander, 32, Grosvenor Road, S.W. 1.
- *Macmillan, George A., D.D.Lit. (Hon Soc), St. Martin's Street, W.C. 2.
- Macmillan, Miss George A., 27, Queen's Gate Garden, S.W. 7.
- Macmillan, Maurice, 32, Caxton Place, S.W. 1.
- *Macmillan, Captain W. L. E., 42, Grosvenor Square, S.W. 1.
- *Macmillan, Hugh, Keio College, Wimborne.
- *Magrath, Rev. J. R., Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.
- *Mahaffy, Rev. J. P., D.D., D.C.L., G.R.E., C.V.O., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.
- Mait, Prof. A. W., The University, Edinburgh.
- *Mallin, F. B., The School, Hailsham.
- Marchant, E. C., Lincoln College, Oxford.
- *Marquand, G. E., Hunningtonwood, Framham, Farnham.
- *Marquisant, Prof. Alan, Princeton College, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- Mariage, Miss E. M., Wilson House, nr. Petersfield, Hants.
- Marsili, U.
- Marshall, Miss, Hatchet, Stokenchurch.
- Marshall, Frederick H., 114, Albany Road, N.W. 6.
- Marshall, Sir J. B., C.I.E., LL.D., Director-General of Archaeology, Simla, India.
- Marshall, Prof. J. W., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
- Marshall, R., 31, The Wallhouse, Greydon.

- Martin, Charles H., Box 42, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
- Marindale, Rev. C., 114, Mount Street, W. 1.
- † Martyn, Edward, Tilney Castle, Andover, County Wilts.
- Massy, Colonel P. H. H., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- Matheson, P. E., 1, Capel Road, Oxford.
- Mavrogordato, J. Z., Lennell Close, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W. 4.
- Mavrogordato, J. J., 6, Polwera Court, Sloane, Sussex.
- Mavrogordato, T. M., 62, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.
- Maw, H. D., Clifton College, Bristol.
- Mayer, R. J. G., Board of Education, South Kensington, S.W. 7.
- Measures, A. E., King Edward VI. School, Birmingham.
- Medley, E. P., Felsted School, Essex.
- Me, Mr. M. C., See Webkin, Eastbourne.
- Melville-John, Lady, 23, Cleveland Place, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
- Meek, F. H., Christ's Hospital, West Horsham.
- Mesana, Spire, 68, Westmore Terrace, W. 1.
- † Miles, Sir H. A., F.R.S., Birch Hey, Crewe, H. Range, Fallowfield, Manchester.
- Michel, Prof. Ch.
- Milner, William, 9, Via Palestro, Rome, Italy.
- Millington, Mrs Alexander van, 18, British Linen Park, 38, Throckmorton Street, E.C. 2.
- Millington, Miss M. V., 27, Post Hill, Sydenham, S.E. 20.
- Mime, J., Granary Bankside, Goldhill, Farnham, Surrey.
- Milner, Viscount, G.C.B., 17, Great College Street, Westminister, S.W. 1.
- Ming, Miss Julia, 18, Savile Square, Hyde Park, W. 2.
- Mims, Ellis H., Council, Pembroke College, Cambridge.
- Mitchell, Mrs C. W., Jeannine Tower, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Mond, Rt Hon Sir Alfred, Bart., M.P., 33, Lennox Square, S.W. 1.
- Mundi, Mrs E., 22, Hyde Park Square, W. 2.
- † Mond, Mrs. Frida, The Poplars, 20, Avenue Road, Regents Park, N.W. 3.
- † Morris, Robert, Combe Frank, near Sevenoaks.
- Mosfries, C. B. Sc.
- Moultres, J. Drummond C., 27, Upper Richmond Road, S.W. 14.
- Morrison, Walter, 77, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
- Mosley, H. W., The White House, Haslemere.
- Muldo-Cooke, Mrs. P. H., 5, Foxhanger Terrace, W. 2.
- Muirhead, L., Holroyd Court, Wallingford.
- † Munro, J. A. R., Lincoln College, Oxford.
- † Murphy, Rev J. M., Victoria Park, Dublin.
- Murray, Prof. G. G. A., F.R.A., M.P., 22, Walbrook Road, Oxford.
- Mussen, Miss Caroline, Mount Pleasant, Magdalene Hill, Winchester.
- † Myers, Ernest (Cousin), Remondine, Chislehurst, Kent.
- † Myers, Louis, 24, Queen J. Street, R.N.V.R., 101, Banbury Road, Oxford.
- † Nairn, Rev. J. Atholton, Mrs., Saint Thomas School, E.C.
- Negroponte, J. A., Esquille Villa, Rowden, Cheshire.
- † Nerell, Edward T., c/o The American Numismatic Society, Broadway, and 15th Street, New York, I. S. A.
- Neumann, W. L., F.R.A., 1st Dr., Pittville Lodge, Cheltenham.
- Newton, The Lord, 6, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.
- Newton, Miss Charlotte M., 18, Priory Road, Notting Hill, W. 4.
- Noetk, Prof. Ferdinand, Institut Wilhelmsbau, No. 9, Tukinger Strasse, Berlin.
- Nunn, C. G., 1, Mount Hall Street, St. John's Street, Salford, Manchester.
- Nurman-Roth, Mrs., 1, Warwick House, 117, Warwick Road, Earls Court, S.W. 5.
- Narwoal Cyril, Marlborough College, Wilts.

- Norwood, Prof. G., 40, Clarendon Road, Cardiff.
- Oakesmith, John, D.Litt., 18, Prebend Garden, Chichester, W. 4.
- Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, D.D., 9, Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.
- Oehler, Miss Elizabeth, 31, Marlborough Mansions, Caxton Hill, Hammersmith, W.H. 6.
- Ogden, Mrs. Lucy, Bellvue, Muncaster, Kendal, Cumberland.
- Ogle, Christopher, The Barber, King's Head, nr. Tedworth, Surrey.
- Ogden, Prof. Samuel Grant, 11, New City College, Grove, 69, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- Oppé, A. F., 18, Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
- Oppenheimer, H., 9, Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8.
- Ormond, H. A. M.C., The University, Liverpool.
- Orpen, Rev. T. H., Monk Ash, Abinger, Surrey.
- Owen, A. S., Kyle College, Oxford.
- Owen-Mackenzie, Lady, 6, Cheyne Street, S.W. 1.
- Page, T. L., 19, Walpole, Gladstone.
- Pallis, Alexander, 18, Aigburth Drive, Liverpool.
- Parker, Miss M. I., Princess Helena College, Ealing, W. 5.
- †Parry, Rev. O. H., All Hallows Clergy House, East India Dock, E. 12.
- Parry, Rev. K. Si. Jr., Trinity College, Cambridge.
- Paterson, Dr. W. R., 1, Aigburth Hall Road, Aigburth, Liverpool.
- †Patton, James Morton, 302, Syrusiana Hall, Charles River Road, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- Peers, Sir Edward, Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- Pearson, A. C., Nately, Wansingham, Norfolk.
- Peacock of Wisbech, Baron, Wisbech, Cambs.
- †Peacock, The Hon. Alexandra, Hand House, Wisbech.
- Pemberton, F. W., Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford.
- Penniman, R. E., The American Embassy, 4, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1.
- Penoyre, J. H. B., C.H.E. Secretary & Librarian, 8, King's Reach Walk, Inner Temple, E.C. 4.
- †Percouse, Miss Emily, Somerville College, Oxford.
- *Percival, F. W., 6, Cheyne Street, S.W. 1.
- Perry, Prof. Edward Delavan, Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.
- Pevel, Miss Laura, Oak House, Bradford.
- Petroschinos, D. P., 25, Odos Timotheou, Athens.
- Priorecking, Anilouise, Thames Cottage, Pangbourne.
- Philips, Mrs. Herbert, Sutton (Ske), Macclesfield.
- Phillimore, Prof. J. S., The University, Glasgow.
- Phillips, J. G., 17, Thayer Street, Manchester Square.
- Pickering, T. E., The Schools, Shrewsbury.
- †Platt, Prof. Arthur, 5, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
- †Pestlemeier, G. C., Chancery Hall, Grange-over-Sands.
- Pollard, The Right Hon. Sir Frederick, Bart., F.B.A., 21, Hyde Park Place, W. 2.
- †Pope, Mrs. G. H., 60, Bradbury Road, Oxford.
- †Ponting, Prof. J. P., F.B.A., Litt.D., 15, Janet Lane, Liverpool.
- Powell, John U., St. John's College, Oxford.
- Poynter, Sir Edward J. Barr, Litt.D., D.C.L., C.V.O., P.R.A., 79, Addison Road, W. 14.
- Povey, Miss Mabel, The Juggler, Lodgings, Oxford.
- Pilkard, A. O., Skipton, Fleet Rd., Hants.
- Pryce, F. N., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- Pryor, Francis R., Womifield, Hatfield, Herts.
- Purser, Miss Olive, 12, Palmerston Road, Dublin.

- Pyddoke, Miss Mary, 15, Cornhill, Purfleet, Essex.
- Quodell, Mrs. Annie A., Greek Museum, Egypt.
- Rackham, H., Christ's College, Cambridge.
- Radcliffe, W. W., Fontaine, East Grinstead, Sussex.
- Rudford, Miss, St. Swithin, Portsmouth, Hampshire.
- *Raleigh, Miss Katherine A., 14, St. Queen's Square, N. Kensington, W. 10.
- *Ralli, Pandell, 17, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.
- *Ralli, Mr. Stephen A., St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.
- Ramsay, A. H., Exeter College, Windsor.
- Ramsay, Prof. G. G., LL.D., Lit.D., Drumore, Murgowen, Peribie.
- *Ramsay, Prof. Sir W. M. F.R.A., D.C.L., Lit.D., V.P., 41, Princes Avenue, Edinburgh.
- Raven, H. M., M.R.C.S., Barfield House, Headstone.
- Rawlinson, F. H., Exon College, Windsor.
- Reeves, Hon. William Brewster, 42, Coramill Gardens, S.W. 1.
- Reidell, Sir Harry R., Garthcraig, Bangor, North Wales.
- Rohr, Prof. J. S., F.R.A., Lit.D., Corpus College, Cambridge.
- *Renfrew, Rev. G. H., Lit.D., Dunelm House, Dublin, Col. Ulster.
- *Rendall, Montague, The College, Winchester.
- Rennie, W., The University, Glasgow.
- Richards, Rev. G. C., Great Coates, Ipswich.
- Richards, F., Kingwood School, Bath.
- Richardson, Miss A. W., Westfield College, Hampstead, N. W.
- Hilman, Prof. O. L., 25, Carmarthen Street, London.
- Richmond, Sir W. B., K.C.B., D.C.L., R.A., River Lodge, West End, Hanover
W. 1.
- Richter, 31-33 Grace, Lit.D., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.
- Ridgeway, Prof. W., F.R.A., V.P., Fen Ditton, Cambridge.
- Riley, Miss E. F. A., 22, Lansdowne Road, N.W. 5.
- Riley, Sir Edward, 4, Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.
- Rigg, Herbert A., Wallasey Manor, Cowfold, Horsham.
- Riley, W. E., County Hall, Spring Gardens, S.W. 1.
- Roberts, J. Slingsby, 3, Powis Villa, Brighton.
- Roberts, Principal T. F., Stephen House, Aberystwyth.
- Roberts, Professor W. Rhys, LL.D., The University, Cork.
- Robertson, The Right Rev. Bishop A., 7, Canterbury Road, Oxford.
- Robertson, D. S., Copehill, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- Robinson, C. E., University Chapel, Winchester.
- Robinson, Edward, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.
- Rodman, H. S. Jr., 34, Kensington Park Road, W. 16.
- Robinson, W. S., Courtfield, West Hill, Dulverton, Somerset, S.W. 12.
- Rodd, H. J., 24, Renouf, Col. M.G., Hospital Embankment, Rome.
- Rose, H. J., 38, Hamilton Road, Oxford.
- *Roseberry, The Right Hon. the Earl of K.G., K.T., F.R.S., F.R.A., 36, Herdman
Square, W. 1.
- Rout, Sir J. F., Leith Hill, Frimley, Godalming, Surrey.
- *Rowse, W. H. D., Lit.D., Gilde Road, Cambridge.
- Ruhm, Paul, 34, Alle Rabenstrasse, Hamburg, Germany.
- *Ryle, The Right Rev. Bishop D. D., C.V.O., F.R.A., The Preacher, Westminster, S.W. 1.
- Sachs, Mrs. Granv, 26, Marlborough Hill, S.W. 8.
- St. Lawrence, T. J. E., Grosvenor, Hove Castle, Dublin.
- Salter, Mrs., 2, Campion Hill Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
- Salterthwaite, Colonel, Stray Lane, York Place, Harrogate.
- Sanday, Rev. Canon Paul W., D.D., F.R.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
- Sanderson, F. W., The School, Davile, Northamptonshire.

- Sanda, P. C., *Pucklingham School, East Yorks.*
- *Sandys, Sir John, F.R.A., LL.D. (V.P.), *St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge.*
- †Sandys, Lady, *St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge.*
- Sawyer, Rev. H. A. P., *School House, Shrewsbury.*
- †Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., LL.D. (V.P.), 8, *Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh.*
- †Saramanga, A. P.
- *Scarff, Miss E. M., *Turleigh Mill, Headford-on-Avon.*
- Schaeffer, C. W., *Limsingh, Valkenpark 16, The Hague.*
- Schaper, Miss, 37, *Upper Brook Street, W. 1.*
- Schrader, Prof. H., *Allergasse 39, Wien II.*
- Schuster, Ernest, 13, *Harrington Gardens, S.W. 7.*
- Scoulouch, Stephanos, *Athens, Greece.*
- Scut, C. A.
- Seager, Richard B., *on Burley Green, and Co., 3, Bishopgate Street Within, E.C. 2.*
- Seale, Rev. E. G., *Portora School, Enniskillen.*
- Seeholm, Hugh, *Faynder's End, near Hitchin.*
- Seligman, Prof. C. G., *The Mount, Long Crendon, Thame, Oxon.*
- Selman, E. J., *Kingsgate, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.*
- †Selwyn, Rev. F. C. D.D., *Underhaw, Hindhead, Surrey.*
- Selwyn, Rev. R. G., *Warden of Radley, Berks.*
- †Sharp, Miss Catharine, *Stonecroft, Elstree, Herts.*
- Shear, Mrs., 108, *Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.*
- Shepphulme, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Sheppard, J. T., *Kings College, Cambridge.*
- Showar, Alexander, *Stobie, St. Andrews, Fife.*
- Shields, Miss, *American Art Student Club, A. Rue de l'Universite, Paris.*
- Shoobridge, Leonard, *Propriété St. François, Gaillard, Nice.*
- Shore, Miss E., 39, *Vine Street Chancery, Heynton-Sheriff, W. 1.*
- Sidgwick, Arthur, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
- Silcox, Miss, 32, *Folke School, Southwold.*
- Sills, H. H., *Great Shelford, Cambridge.*
- †Sing, J. M., *The College, Winchester.*
- Six, J., *Anstel 218, Amsterdam.*
- †Slater, Howard, M.D., *St. Hilda's, Didsbury.*
- Sloane, Miss Eleanor, 13, *Wolfit's Road, Leicester.*
- Sleman, H. N. P., *Sydney Grammar School, Sydney, N.S.W.*
- †Smith, A. Hamilton (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- Smith, A. P., *Lavelle School, Maristberg, N.B.*
- Smith, Sir Cecil Harcourt, C.V.O., LL.D. (V.P.), 42, *Rathbone Gate, S.W. 1.*
- Smith, Sir H. Habington, K.C.B., C.S.I., *Chinthurst Hill, Wimereux, Godalming.*
- Smith, James, *The Knob, Birrellands, near Liverpool.*
- Smith, Nowell, *School House, Skegness, Lincoln.*
- Smith, Shurwood E., *The School House, Newport,*
- Smith, William H., 63, *Wall Street, New York.*
- Smith-Pearce, Rev. T. N. H., *Castle Street, Launceston, Cornwall.*
- Smily, Prof. J. G., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
- †Snow, T. C., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
- Somerset, Arthur, *Castle Goring, Worthing.*
- Sommerchein, E. A., 4, *Bram Hill Place, Llanidloes, Ruth.*
- Southwick, Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Bishop's House, *Kennington Park, S.E. 11.*
- Spearing, H. G., 17, *Harrowby Park, Grantham, N. B.*
- Spencer-Churchill, Capt. E. G., *Northwick Park, Hockley, Worcestershire.*

- Spilbury, A. J., *The Grammar School, Wakefield*.
 Spooner, Rev. W. A., *Warden of New College, Oxford*.
 Stainton, J. A., 6, Wyndham Place, Bryanston Square, W. 1.
 Starkie, Rt. Hon. W. J. M., *LL.D., Office of National Education, Marlborough Street, Dublin*.
 Stawell, Miss F. Julian, 33, Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill Gate, W. 11.
 Steel, D., *Reg'd. Stansted, Essex*.
 Steel-Waillard, Sir A. D., Bart., M.P., 72, Cadogan Sq., S. W. 1.
 Stevenson, Miss E. F., 24, Brandling Park, Newentown, Tyne.
 Stevenson, G. H., *University College, Oxford*.
 Stewart, Prof. J. A., *Chest Church, Oxford*.
 Stock, J. L., *St. John's College, Oxford*.
 Stogdon, Rev. Edgar, *Alfriston Parsonage, Westford*.
 Stogdon, J., *Mount Pleasant, London Road, Harrington-the-Hill*.
 Stone, E. W., *Eton College, Windsor*.
 Sturt, Visq. George F., F.B.A., *Cragside, St. Andrews*.
 Strangways, L. R. O., *Grosvenor Gardens, Harrow Hill, N. W.*
 Streanfield, Mrs., 22, *Park Street, W. 1*.
 Strong, Mrs. S. Arthur, *LL.D., LL.D., Council, British School, Volk's Gal., Rome*.
 Strubbe, Sir John, K.C.B., 31, *Sloane Gardens, S.W. 1*.
 †Sykes, Brig. General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., *Apakha, 133, Patagonia and Tahiti*.
 Symond, Rev. H. H., *Rugby School, Rugby*.
 Tancock, Captain A. (1st Punjab, Indian Army), *Parahimur, Kurram Valley, Peshawar, N.W.F.P., India*.
 Tarbell, Prof. F. N., *University of Chicago, Chicago, Ills., U.S.A.*
 Tatton, W. W., *Mountgraham, Dingwall, N.B.*
 Tarrant, Miss D., *Bolsover College, Regents Park, N. W. 1*.
 Tatton, R. G., 2, *Savile Place, W. 2*.
 Taylor, Miss M. E. J., *Royal Holloway College, Egham*.
 Taylor, Mrs. L. E., *Watson, 19, The Holborn, S.W. 1*.
 Temple, Rev. W. 20, *Melbury Road, W. 14*.
 Thackeray, H. St. John, *Board of Education, South Kensington, S.W. 7*.
 Thomas, W. H., *The Ness, Roman Road, Linslade, Middlesex*.
 Thomas-Stanford, Charles, *Preston Manor, Brighton*.
 Thompson, Miss Anna Boynton, *Theayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass., U.S.A.*
 Thompson, Sir Herbert, Bart., 9, *Kensington Park Gardens, S.W. 11*.
 Thompson, J. P., *Harcourt-Street, Dublin*.
 Thompson, Capt. Maurice, *Cowthorpe, Selby*.
 Thomson, F. C., 4, *Kelvin Terrace, Edinburgh*.
 Tidewell, W. J., *Kennington, London, Southwark*.
 Tilney, H. J. W., *Fairfield, Cambridge*.
 Todd, Marcus N., *Oriel College, Oxford*.
 Toynbee, Arnold Joseph, *Trinity College, Oxford*.
 Tueller, Dr. Emil, *Helsingfors, Finland*.
 †Tunstall, Mrs. Percival, *Sandy Brook Hall, Ashburnham*.
 Turner, Prof. H. H., F.R.S., *University Secretary, Oxford*.
 Tyler, C. H., *Graham Hall, Norfolk*.
 Underhill, G. E., *Hertford College, Oxford*.
 Upcott, Rev. Dr., *Christ Hospital, West Hartlepool*.
 Vir, Prof. Percy N., *Council, University College, Reading*.
 Vaughan, E. L., *Eton College, Windsor*.
 Vaughan, W. W., *Wellington College, Berkshire*.

- *Vittor-Pelka, Miss H. M., *22, Wimpole Street, Kensington, W. 8.*
- †Vil de March, Marchesa di Polizza Orsiini, *Molte Scialle, Rome.*
- Vlach, Michael P., *22, Allée des Capucins, Marseille.*
- Vysoky, Prof. Dr. Ignaz, *K.K. böhmische Universität, Prague, Bohemia.*
- Waage, A. J. B., *Council, British School, Athens, Greece.*
- †Wackernagel, Prof. Jacob, *The University, Göttingen, Germany.*
- Wadsworth, S. A., *The New Hantz, The Schools, Shrewsbury.*
- †Wagner, Henry, *13, Half Moon Street, W. 1.*
- †Walton, Sir Charles, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.B. (V.A.), *Newton Hall, near Cambridge.*
- Walker, Mrs D. L., *Regent Lodge, Headingley, Leeds.*
- Walker, Rev. E. M., *Queens College, Oxford.*
- Walker, Rev. R. J., *Little Holland House, Melbury Road, Kensington, W. 14.*
- Walters, Henry Beauchamp (Council), *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- Walters, Prof. W. C. Flamsteed (Council), *Linen, Milton Park, Gerrards Cross, Bucks.*
- Ward, Arnold S., M.P., *25, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.*
- *Ward, Sir A. W., F.R.A., Litt.D., *Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.*
- Ward, W. Henry, *2, Bedford Square, W.C. 1.*
- Warner, Rev. Wm., *6, Creek Road, Oxford.*
- †Warre, Rev. Edmund, D.D., D.C.L., C.B.
- Warren, E. P., *Lower House, Lower, Sussex.*
- Warren, Mrs Fiske, *8, Mount Vernon Place, Bayswater, U.S.A.*
- Warren, Sir Herbert, K.C.V.O., D.C.L., *President of Magdalen College, Oxford.*
- Warren, F. T., *Lane, Newquay, Cornwall.*
- Weatherhead, Robert W., *H.M.S. Volant, No. C. P. 1., London.*
- Webb, C. C. J., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
- Webb, F. G. L., *12, Lancaster Gate Terrace, W. 2.*
- †Weber, F. P., M.D., *13, Harley Street, W. 1.*
- Weber, Sir Hermann, M.D., *10, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.*
- Wedd, N., *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Wedge, W. N., *School House, Seaford, Yorkshire.*
- †Welldon, The Right Rev. Bishop, *The Deanery, Durham.*
- Wells, C. M., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Wells, J., *Wycliffe College, Oxford.*
- Weish, Miss S. M., *Whatley, N. Hertford College, Oxford.*
- Whibley, Leonard, *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
- White, Hon. Mrs A. D., *Cornell University, Ithaca, U.S.A.*
- †Whitehead, R. R., *Woodstock, Ulster Co., N.Y., U.S.A.*
- Whitworth, A. W., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Wilkins, Rev. George, *St. Trinity College, Dublin.*
- Wilkinson, Herbert, *10, Grove Square, W. 2.*
- Williams, Prof. T. Hudson, *University College, Bangor.*
- Willis, Miss L. M., *17, Addison Gardens, W. 14.*
- Wilson, Major H. C. R., *Crofton Hall, Crofton, near Wakefield.*
- Wool, R. Stanford, *33, Southwood Lane, Highgate, N. 6.*
- Wool, Rev. W. S., *Ufford Rectory, Stamford.*
- Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., *The University, Sydney, N.S.W.*
- Woodward, A. M. (Council), *The University, Leeds.*
- Woodward, Prof. W. H., *Drooberry House, Farham, Surrey.*
- Wooley, Capt. C. L., *Old Riffhous, Danbury, Essex.*
- Wright, F. A., LL.D., *Kafserkash, Thorpe Bay, Essex.*
- †Wynbarn, Rev. Francis M., *St. Mary of the Angels, Westmorland Road, Bognor Regis, W. 2.*

- Wyndham, Hon. Margaret, 12, Great Stanhope Street, W. 1.
 Wyne-Pinch, Miss Helen, Chapel House, Crathorne, Yorks., Yorkshire.
 †Wyse, W., Grove Cottage, Grove Ranch, Stratford-on-Avon.
 Yeames, A. H. S., United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
 York, V. W., Pontefract House, Sheep Lane, E.C. 2.
 Young, George M., 99, St. George's Square, S.W. 1.
 †Yule, Miss Amy F., Turretale House, Ruislip, Middlesex.
 Zimmerman, A. E., Comely, Oakhill Drive, Surbiton.
 Zochonis, G. B., Mountlands, Fawell Road, Rodeon, Cheshire.

STUDENT ASSOCIATES

- Arnold, Miss Audette, Belmont, Bickley, Kent
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- Brussels.**, Musées Royaux des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels, Palais du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles, Belgium.

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- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 46, *Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*)
- American Journal of Numismatics (American Society of Numismatists, *Bronxton, just 150th Street, New York, U.S.A.*)
- American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*)
- Analecta Hollandiana, Société des Hollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Besançon Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien. Réédition des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Besançon, France.*
- Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Halliard Street, Liverpool*)
- Annual of the British School at Athens.
- Annuario della Regia Scuola di Atene, *Athens, Greece*
- Archäologische Ephemeris, *Athen*
- Archæologikon Delium, *Athens*.
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (Dr. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reitland, *Carlstadt 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at Athens).
- Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russie à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russie, Constantinople*).
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria*.
- Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capichino, *Rome*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
- Catalogus général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, *Cairo*.
- Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
- Gazette des Beaux-Arts (The Secretary, 16, *Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, F.F.*)
- Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kreisslauer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
- Hermae (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedlaender Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
- Jahrbuch des kais. (deutsch. archæol. Instituts, *Turkenstrasse No. 20, Berlin*).
- Jahresthefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Turkenstrasse 1, Vienna*.
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and Man, 92, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
- Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (Hon. Editor, Mr. A. H. Gardiner, 9, *Lambeth Road, Holland Park, W. 11*).
- Journal of Philology and Translations of the Cambridge Philological Society.
- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
- Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Seggiani, *Musée National, Athens*).
- Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. Dr. Kauernik, *Nobelparkalle 55, Tübingen*).
- Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université S. Joseph, *Beirut, Syria*.
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
- Ménnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Landwehrstrasse 3, Berlin-Südende, Germany*).
- Memories of the American Academy in Rome (The Librarian, *American Academy, Piazza San Pancrazio, Rome*).
- Memorie dell'Istituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
- Mitteilungen des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archæol. Instituts, *Athens*.
- Mitteilungen des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archæol. Instituts, *Rome*.

- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland).
- Nenpolis, Sigmo Prof. V. Macchioro, Via Civillo 3, Naples.
- Neue Jahrbücher, Herr Dr. Rektor Ilberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, Wartha, Sachsen.
- Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, Roma.
- Numismatic Chronicle, 22, Albemarle Street.
- Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, Göttingen).
- Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, Athens.
- Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, Constantinople.
- Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, St. Petersburg.
- Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, Rue Tamerlan, Paris.
- Revue des Études Grecques, 14, Rue de Lille, Paris.
- Reme Epigraphique.
- Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Strinkmann, Schwanenstrasse, 38, Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany).
- Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Dietrich, Kaiser-Straße 33, Munich, Germany).
- University of California Publications in Classical Philology and in American Archaeology (Exchange Department, University of California, Berkeley, Ca., U.S.A.).
- Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1917-18

During the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society:

November 13th, 1917. Professor Percy Gardner: *A Female Figure of Phoenician Type* (*J.H.S.* xxviii, pp. 1-99).

May 7th, 1918. Professor B. P. Grenfell: *The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors* (see below, pp. xlvi. sqq.).

June 25th, 1918. Mr. E. Norman Gardiner: *The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor* (see below, pp. xlvi. sqq.).

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 25th, 1918, Dr. Walter Leaf, President of the Society, in the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Report for the Session 1917-1918.

The Council beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1917-18.

In this the fourth year of the war the Council have little to report beyond the fact that to the best of their ability they have carried out the programme set forth in last year's Report, 'not to initiate any fresh development of the Society's work, but merely to keep the machinery in good working order so that when the proper moment comes no time may be lost in making a fresh start.' At the same time it is necessary to look ahead now, to consider how this fresh start is to be made, and it has been suggested that the Society might usefully undertake the collection, examination and classification of sketches, plans, diaries and notes made by travellers in the Near East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The moment is opportune because under the stress of war conditions libraries are being dispersed and portfolios and papers examined which have been untouched for many years, and it may well be that among them are papers of no money value but of great interest as records of things now lost or destroyed, and of conditions which have

passed away. A beginning has already been made owing to the kindness of Miss Annie Barlow, who has handed over to the Council a roll of drawings of Sicily, Malta, etc., bought at the Frere sale, and which from internal evidence were probably collected by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Frere, the translator of Aristophanes, who lived in Malta from 1819-1846.

The Council are prepared to make arrangements for the examination of any collections reported to them, but the discovery of such collections must be in the main, the work of individual members whose co-operation in the scheme is herewith invited. (See below, p. li).

The Council have once more to record their appreciation of the voluntary services rendered to the Society by their colleagues, Mr. G. F. Hill and Miss C. A. Hutton. On Mr. Hill falls the full responsibility for the *Journal*, no light responsibility in these days of a restricted supply of paper and metal; on Miss Hutton the management of the Library and the secretarial work, though Mr. Penoyre, in addition to the important national work on which he is engaged, has made time to keep the Author and Subject Catalogues in the Library up to date, and to revise and enlarge the Library Catalogue of the Slido Collection.

It will have been a great satisfaction to members to see in the recent list of Honours that Mr. Penoyre has been made a Commander of the new Order of the British Empire in recognition of his valuable services. No honour could have been better deserved.

After careful consideration the Council have decided until further notice to issue the *Journal* in one part only, to be published in the autumn. By this means a considerable saving will be effected in the incidental expenses of packing, carriage, etc.

Changes on the Council, etc.—On the occasion of Monsieur Venizelos' visit to England in the autumn of 1917, the Council, feeling that such a course would be in accordance with the wishes of the Members, offered him the compliment of Honorary Membership of the Society, which he gratefully accepted.

The Council record with regret the deaths during the past year of two foreign Honorary Members, Professor John Williams White of Harvard, and Monsieur Maxime Collignon of the Sorbonne. Among the older members who have passed away are Dr. Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. W. W. Merry, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Canon Greenwell of Durham; while the interests of archaeological and classical studies in the United States have received a severe blow in the premature death of an American member, Professor J. R. Wheeler, professor of Greek archaeology and art in Columbia University. The Society has also lost one of its French members, Monsieur J. P. Milliet, a former student of the École du Louvre, and the author of two important catalogues of Greek pottery.

Of the younger members now on active service the following have laid down their lives during the past year: L. Davies, L. W. Hunter,

A. W. Maugham, J. B. K. Preedy, and E. W. Webster. The death of Captain Webster (K.R.R.); a former Craven student of the School at Athens, Fellow of Wadham College, an accomplished linguist and a zealous student of Aristotle, is a great loss to the study of pure scholarship at Oxford.

The Council do not recommend any additions to the number of Vice-Presidents this year, nor any changes in the Council. The following Members retire by rotation, and being eligible, are nominated for re-election: Messrs. J. D. Beazley, E. R. Bevan, W. H. Buckler, R. Burrows, M. O. B. Gaspari, F. M. Cornford, E. J. Forsdyke, E. Norman Gardner, H. R. Hall, and C. Flamsteed Walters.

The British Museum.—A Special Meeting of the Council was held on January 8th, 1918, to consider the proposal of the War Cabinet to take over the British Museum as the offices of the Air Board. A strong resolution of protest was carried unanimously and forwarded to the Prime Minister, and it is satisfactory to record that in this instance the combined pressure of every learned and scientific society in the United Kingdom, and of educated opinion generally, compelled the War Cabinet to reconsider a policy which might have involved great danger to the National Collections.

General Meetings.—Three General Meetings have been held during the past Session, it having proved impracticable to hold one in February as contemplated.

At the first Meeting, held on November 33rd, 1917, Professor Percy Gardner read an illustrated paper on 'A Female Figure of Pheidian Type, recently Acquired by the Ashmolean Museum owing to the dispersal of the Hope Collection at Deepdene.' An interesting discussion followed Professor Gardner's paper, which will be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal*. Mr. Arthur Smith discussed various points raised by the lecturer, and congratulated him on this important addition to the Ashmolean Collection.

At the General Meeting held on May 7th, 1918, Professor B. P. Grenfell read a paper on 'The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors.' He said that Homeric papyri showed that the vulgate was not the prevailing text in Egypt before B.C. 150. Ludwig's view that the additional lines in the earliest papyri were eccentric variants was unsatisfactory; the influence of the Alexandrian Museum was responsible for the later predominance of the shorter text. Papyri of Sophocles showed that the value of the Laurentian MS. in relation to the rest had been overestimated; the papyri of Euripides tended to be superior to the MSS., and those of Aristophanes to support the Codex Venetus as much as the Codex Ravennas. Forthcoming papyri of Pinthus and Theocritus stood apart from the existing families. Herodotian papyri tended to be conservative, while those of Thucydides presented

many improvements in the text. In Xenophon they were noteworthy for their agreements with the so-called *dilettantes*, and in Plato they modified the pre-eminence assigned to the Bodleian and Paris MSS. A papyrus of the 'Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας' was much superior to the MSS. Demosthenes, except in his minor works, was less affected than Isocrates and Aeschines. In later authors, such as Polybius and the writers of Romances, the papyri were, as a rule, much superior to the MSS. In summing up, the lecturer said that the texts of the chief authors had not undergone extensive changes since the second century, but that there was evidence for much less stability at an earlier period. In some authors conjectural emendations had received pleasing confirmation from the papyri. The division of the MSS. into families was later than the papyrus period. In the lecturer's opinion an eclectic method in reconstructing a text was right as against reliance on a single line of tradition.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Grenfell for his erudite and valuable communication, the President offered some observations on the questions raised by the Homeric papyri, and observed that one of the results of the lecturer's investigations was to clear the character of the mediæval scribe who was often accused of tampering with the texts he copied; evidently an unfounded charge if the texts of the chief authors had not undergone extensive changes since the second century.

Library, Photographic and Lantern Slide Collections.—Over 500 visitors have used the Library during the past year, the number of volumes borrowed from it being 497. Partly for economic reasons, and partly because very few suitable books have been published, the number of new books added to the Library is small, but through the kindness of friends it has been enriched by the addition of some important earlier works.

The Hon. Librarian Mr. Arthur Smith, presented thirty volumes of early travel and topography, including two volumes of the *Tracts on Troy*, written by Bryant, Chandler, Le Chevalier, Morris and Wakefield, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Another interesting addition is a copy of the Plan and View of the *Plains of Troy*, drawn on the spot by Sir Henry Acland and published in 1839. This rare publication has been presented to the Society by his son, Sir Reginald Acland, K.C.

Three books were obtained at the sale of the Deepdene heirlooms, one of which, a beautiful presentation copy of the *Bedford Marbles* given by the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Hope, was purchased with funds provided by Miss Lorna Johnson.

During the past year exchanges have been arranged with the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Ministère

de l'Instruction publique (Paris), the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the following donors: Sir Reginald Achard, K.C., Sir R. Allison, Messrs. W. H. Buckler, A. van Buren, S. Kittem, E. R. Garnsey, B. Hanssoulier, G. F. Hill, Miss L. Johnson, Mr. J. G. Milne, Dr. W. Rhys Roberts, Mr. G. A. Rosenberg, Sir John Sandys, Mr. G. Schutte, Mr. Arthur Smith, and Dr. Parkes Weber.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, H. Blackwell, W. Heinemann, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., the Medici Press, and the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, and of Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Princeton and Virginia.

The number of slides borrowed during the past session is 1,289, a slight decrease on the figures for last year: the number purchased is 131, including some sent to S. Africa and to America. The Council regret that the great increase in the cost of materials and of labour compels them to increase by thirty-five per cent. the charge for slides and photographs purchased from the Society. No change is made in the charge for the hire of slides (*i.e.* per slide and postage).

The Council desire to express their special thanks to Mr. J. G. Milne for a generous gift of negatives and photographs, also to the Committee of the British School at Athens, and to Prof. E. A. Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss C. A. Hutton, and Mr. Arthur Smith for donations of slides, negatives and photographs.

As almost all the books and slides added during the past Session were included in the *Lists of Accessions* published in *J.H.S.* xxvii 2, it has been decided not to publish further lists this year.

Finance.—In order that the latest possible figures may be presented at the Annual General Meeting it has been the practice to close the accounts annually at May 31 in each year. This year the usual rule has been observed, but, with the omission of expenses for the *Journal* consequent on the decision to issue the volume complete in the autumn, the accounts presented look more favourable than would have been the case if, as usual, the cost of one of the parts for the current year had been included. Under present conditions the expenditure during the later months of the year must necessarily prove more heavy than during the earlier, and it may therefore be deemed advisable to close the books yearly at December 31, in order to present more accurately the exact financial position than is possible by the present practice.

Apart from the *Journal* account there is hardly anything that calls for special note. The expenses vary but little, while the income, although less than last year, must be regarded as very satisfactory under present circumstances. The amount for the current year's subscriptions from Members is only £14 less than last year, while the receipts from Libraries are a few pounds up. The losses by death and resignation have not been heavier than usual, and the number of members elected, although

not equal to the losses, has been very gratifying. The number of Candidates is due to the valuable help of members who have introduced the Society to their friends, for which assistance the Council desire to express their best thanks.

The President announced the re-election of all Vice-Presidents and Officers, and of those members of Council retiring by rotation of whose names a printed list had been circulated. He then made a few comments on the Report, paying an eloquent tribute to the late Master of Trinity, Dr. Montagu Butler, a pillar of Hellenic culture throughout his long life, and a man whose name was revered by all who, like himself, had had the good fortune to come under his influence. Dr. Leaf concluded by moving the adoption of the Report. This was seconded by Mr. A. B. Cook, who desired to associate himself with the President's tribute to Dr. Butler, to whom he also owed more than he could express.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors was moved by Professor P. N. Ure and seconded by Mr. Penoyre. It was mentioned that, owing to the absence, on active service, of Captain W. E. F. Macmillan, the whole duty had this year fallen on Mr. C. F. Clay.

Mr. Norman Gardiner then read a paper on 'The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor.' He said that the theory discussed was originally propounded by Mr. A. B. Cook and had since been elaborated by Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* and by Mr. Cornford in *Thewis*. These writers found the origin of the Olympic Games in a ritual contest for the throne.

The theory was based on the arbitrary interpretation of certain arbitrarily selected myths. Proof of the kingly character of the victor is found in the honours 'regal and divine' paid to him in historical times. The four-horse chariot 'assimilated him to the Sun-God,' the olive wreath 'likened him to Zeus,' he was pelted with leaves 'like a Jack-in-the-green.' Hymns were sung and statues erected in his honour. He was feasted in the Prytaneia, and, on his return home, clothed in purple and drawn into the city in a four-horse chariot through a breach in the city walls. After death he was worshipped as a hero.

In the speaker's opinion some of these honours belonged to the beginnings of the Games, others were the result of the athletic hero-worship of the fifth century, or of the ostentation of Hellenistic princes and Roman emperors. None of them was peculiar to the Olympic victor, none of them proved his regal or divine character. If the theory was true of the Olympic victor, it was equally true of almost any athletic victor.

Sir James Frazer further connected the Olympic festival with his theory of the octennial tenure of the throne. The only evidence for this

theory was found in a passage of Plutarch about the Spartan kings and Plato's explanation of a line in the *Odyssey* that Minos

ιεράπορτος βασιλεὺς διὸς περιόδου ἱματίης.

The interpretation of these two passages was too doubtful to justify the assumption that the octennial kingship existed in either Sparta or Crete, much less that it existed in 'many parts of Greece.'

There was then no proof that the Olympic victor was ever regarded as a divine king. Greek athletics were secular in origin. Competitions were held at religious festivals because they alone afforded the necessary peace and security. The athletic character of many legends was due to the athletic character of the nation and did not prove that athletic competitions originated in ritual.

At the conclusion of Mr. Gardiner's paper the President read letters which he had received from Sir James Frazer and Captain Cornford dealing with various points raised. A discussion followed in which Mr. A. B. Cook and Dr. Farnell took part. Mr. Cook pointed out that some time had elapsed since he first put forward the views discussed, that he had since modified them in several important particulars, and that he hoped to return to the subject in a future publication. Dr. Farnell expressed general agreement with the point of view and the argument of Mr. Gardiner's paper. He had long ago come to disbelieve in the ritualistic origin of Greek games. Ancient legends as well as historic records point to several occasions for their institution: funerals, marriages, temple worship, celebration of victory by an army: on all such occasions large numbers of men would be gathered together, and in the athletic-heroic age games would be a natural accompaniment of the gathering. It is easy to understand how the great games grew up under the aegis of temple-worship: the great difficulty to be solved was to institute international games and yet preserve the peace between members of different communities that might be at feud. The sacredness of the temple-ground secured a holy truce: for the same reason it might be convenient to hold a market on temple-ground. There was no evidence for the ritualistic origin of Greek athletics in general; where running was part of ritual, as in the Karneia at Sparta, and in the Lampadephoria at Athens, the ritual purpose remained dominant and obvious, and it never developed into an independent sport. There was no evidence for connecting the Olympian games with the marriage of Sun and Moon or succession to a divine kingship; no evidence that the Olympian victor was originally a divine personage or had anything to do with the girl who conquered in the Heraia. (Greek festivals were regulated by the Calendar, and the Calendar by the lights of heaven; but it did not follow that the personal agents in the festivals impersonated the lights of heaven.) The whole of Mr. Cornford's structure was based on one fundamental error: he took the first Olympian ode of Pindar as giving the accepted tradition of the origin of the Olympian games, and therefore connected it with the story

of Tantalos and with Pelops and Oinomaos: there was nothing in this ode to suggest that Pindar pretended to be giving any myth of origin: it was in the tenth Olympian that he formally and explicitly did this. And he explained the institution of the games as a celebration of Herakles' victory over Augias—a secular event of epic saga. That this was the only orthodox Elean tradition might be taken on Pindar's authority: that it gave a *vera causa* is indicated by the legend concerning the foundation of the Nemea (army-sports), the historic record concerning the army of the Amphictyones and the Pythia, and by Xenophon's account of the games instituted by the Ten Thousand at the end of their journey.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Dr.

JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT, FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1918

Cr.

To	Photographs and Plates, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, and Part, Vol.	£	4	7				
Vol. XXXVIII,								
Plates	1916 13 7							
"	1917 12 6							
"	Drawing and Engravings	£	32	12	6			
"	Folding and References	£	16	8				
"	Packing, Subsidiary, and Certificate to Members	£	10	9	6			
"	Packing, Subsidiary, and Certificate to Members	£	34	19	1			

Credit to Dr.Credit to Cr.

LAWTER'S SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTS ACCOUNT, FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1918

To	Slides and Photographs for Sale	£	2	2				
"	Slides for Dr.	£	14	18	21			
"	Photographs for Reference Collection	£	1	0	8			
"	Balance to Friends and Tapestry Account	£	1	8	8			
		£	6	1	9			

Credit to Cr.Credit to Dr.

LIBRARY ACCIDENT, FROM JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1918

To	Photographs	£	1	6				
"	Billing	£	18	6	6			

Credit to Dr.Credit to Cr.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 5, 1917, to MAY 31, 1918.

	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Income</i>
To Bank	£ s d	£ s d
v Salaries—		
v ¹ Librarian and Secretary	140 0 0	By Members' Subscriptions—
v ² Assistant Treasurer	35 0 0	Proportion brought forward from last year, 153 13 5
v ³ Librarian	30 3 8	Received during current year—Athens,
v ⁴ Typist, &c.	30 3 8	1917
v ⁵ Insurance—	245 1 6	1918
v ⁶ Miscellaneous Expenses	25 1 4	Total
v ⁷ Stationery	35 8 0	£ 100 0 0
v ⁸ Postage	15 0 0	<i>For 1918 subscriptions forward to next year</i>
v ⁹ Society Printing, Relief of Members	45 0 0	£ 35 9 0
v ¹⁰ News, &c.	16 19 8	60 11 11
v ¹¹ Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library, Premises	13 17 0	35 4 3
v ¹² Grants—		
v ¹³ British School at Athens—	50 0 0	
v ¹⁴ " Rome	50 0 0	
v ¹⁵ " Paris	100 0 0	
v ¹⁶ " London	45 8 4	<i>For 1918 subscriptions forward to next year</i>
v ¹⁷ Balance from "Journal of Hellenistic Studies"	273 41 9	£ 275 3 1
v ¹⁸ Account from "Journal of Studies of Ptolemaic Egypt"	168 0 0	
v ¹⁹ Dissemination of Studies of Ptolemaic Egypt—	101 11 61	
v ²⁰ Balance—		
v ²¹ Balance from Library Account		
v ²² Balance from "Journal of Hellenistic Studies"		
v ²³ Dissemination of Studies of Ptolemaic Egypt—		
v ²⁴ Balance—		
v ²⁵ Sale of "Proceedings of Ptolemaic Studies"		
v ²⁶ Balance from "Archaeological, Facsimile Account of Inscriptions from Lattara, Siwa and Philae"		
v ²⁷ Balance from "Lattara, Siwa and Philae"		
v ²⁸ Total 16 41		

£ 100 0 0

FAMILIAL CERVICAL

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DRAWINGS AND MEMORANDA.

One of the objects of the Hellenic Society, according to Rule II., is 'to collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains.' The Council are anxious to increase their collection of such documents, and desire to call the attention of members and their friends to the fact, and to beg them to use their influence to save such objects from the destruction or dispersal which too often awaits them. The Council would also be glad, quite apart from any question of acquisition, to be made acquainted with the present whereabouts of any such memoranda or sketches. Communications should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. 1.

A FEMALE FIGURE IN THE EARLY STYLE OF Pheidias.

[PLATES I.-III.]

I.

I HAVE to bring before the readers of this *Journal* a female figure of great interest recently added to the Ashmolean Gallery of Sculpture. Its beauty and dignity will be evident to all who look at the plates (Pls. I., II.). In addition to its beauty it has also special interest, because a discussion of it necessarily involves the whole question of Attic art in the age of Pericles, and particularly of portrait sculpture in that age.

The figure comes from the Hope Collection at Deepdene in Surrey, which was sold by auction in July last. It lay unnoticed in the Deepdene mansion, and was not seen by Michaelis when he visited it in 1877, nor by more recent visitors. I have not succeeded in finding any information as to its source; but as many of the Hope sculptures were found in Rome, it is very probable that this comes thence. The restorations are in Italian marble, and were probably executed in Rome. It is wrongly described, and not figured, in the Hope Sale Catalogue.

The height is 6 feet (m. 1.83); the height of the face (chin to roots of hair), is 7 inches (m. .18); the breadth of the shoulders is 1 foot 0 inches (m. .46). The figure and head are of Pentelic marble. On this point I am supported by Mr. W. Pinner, head mason at the British Museum, who has had rare opportunities for studying that material.

The body is sculptured in a hard block of Pentelic marble, which seems almost impervious to the action of time and weather, and preserves all details. The restorations are: both forearms from the elbow, and a few patches in the ridges of drapery on the front. Both forearms were originally made of separate blocks, and fresh blocks have been inserted in the vacant holes. The restorer has placed in the left hand a scroll, evidently regarding the lady as a poetess, probably as Sappho. The right hand was so badly restored as to be intolerable, and I was obliged to unputto it.

The right foot, which is very delicately carved, is partly visible (Fig. 1). The dress consists of an Ionic chiton, of which only the sleeves with lines of

shules on the upper arms are visible, and over this the heavy woolen Dorian garment commonly called the Dorian chiton but more correctly the Dorian peplos. The peplos of our figure is fastened on both shoulders, but the brooches by which it is fastened are not visible. The peplos is not, as in some cases, open at the side, but forms at the sides two false sleeves.

The lower part of the neck is a restoration. Of the head, the nose and a small part of the upper lip are also restored. The upper part of the right ear is broken away; the left ear, which is beautifully modelled, is complete. The lips are slightly parted.

The proportions are noteworthy. The shoulder breadth, so far as it can be measured through the dress, is one fourth of the height. The length of



FIG. 1.—RIGHT FOOT OF THE OXFORD STATUE.

the face is one tenth of the height. The build is very solid and dignified; but the hips, as in all statues of the period, are somewhat narrow.

The head and the body belong to one another. At first sight I doubted this, as the head has suffered far more than the body from weathering, especially on the top. It seems to be of a softer block of marble, but style and period correspond. There is however more definite proof at p. 102 of Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* (Eng. trans., p. 70). There will be found a poor engraving of a statue, formerly in the Cepparelli Gallery at Florence,¹ now

¹ Donatello, *Gli Scultori in Nord-Europa*, ii. No. 412.

in the Museo Archeologico, of which both head and body nearly resemble our statue, though they are rather later in style. The head, it is true, is—like that of our statue—inserted with a modern neck. But both Dittschke and Milani are convinced that it belongs to the body; and when Furtwängler expresses a doubt on this subject, he gives no reasons for scepticism. Now it might have been possible to doubt the belonging, either of our head or of that of Florence, if either figure were unique, but that twice over a head of a special type (of which but two are known) should have been arbitrarily joined to a body of almost exactly the same style and date passes all limits of probability. To the Florence statue I return later. (See Fig. 2.)

Though the provenience of our statue is uncertain, any one with trained eyes who considered it carefully could scarcely doubt that it was a fifth-century original. The delicate way in which the ends of the garment are treated, the admirably modelling of the shoulders at the back and the breasts, the beautiful work of the foot, make this clear. Copies of the Hellenistic age are mostly exaggerated and fanciful, those of the Roman age mechanical and unintelligent; but here we have a figure perfectly self-consistent, combining in the highest degree simplicity and elegance; every detail, even of the back, finished with perfect care.

If our statue, for example, be compared with a copy of a draped statue of the fifth century from the Library of King Juba II. of Mauritanie, now in the Museum of Cherchel,² which is no doubt the work of a copyist of Roman times, the contrast will be striking. Here the drapery is dry and unheeded, the nude under it is imperfectly rendered, the proportions are unsatisfactory; on all these points our statue will pass the severest criticism.

No doubt some beautiful statues of the same class found in Rome are by most archaeologists regarded as copies of the Roman Age. Prof. Mariam³ has suggested that they are in some cases copies made by artists of the school of Pasiteles. But the signed works of that school are by no means mere exact copies but transpositions. Of course, if a precise copy of a fifth century work were made at Rome, we could not now detect it. But we have no reason to think that this was usual: Roman copyists were not so exact and conscientious. There is no reason why genuine Greek statues of the early period should not be found in Rome, and in fact many such have been found, especially in the Horti Sallustiani. Such are the fifth century Niobids in the Ny-Carlsberg Gallery, the Hestia Clastinius, and other figures mentioned below.

II.

I propose to consider in turn the drapery and the head.

The drapery ranges our statue with a large class of figures of the fifth century. These I propose to divide into two groups.

The first group is of female figures clad only in the heavy Doric chiton or peplos. As is generally known this was a mere square of cloth, doubled

¹ Mackler, *Museo di C. Accad.*, p. 102, Pl. V.

² Holl. Comm. 1801, p. 79.

P. 2

back so as to make an overfall to the waist, and generally drawn up through the girdle, so as to form a *kolpos*. Sometimes one side is left open all the way down: more often it is fastened so as to make on both sides rudimentary or false sleeves. Some of these figures are quite archaic in style. Of those belonging to the middle part of the fifth century, I would specially cite the following:—

Hippodamia in the Olympian pediment.

Female figure in the Ludovisi gallery, headless, of Parian marble.

(Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1287; Brunn, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 357. Hellrig regards it as a Greek original.)

Figure in the Villa Borghese, not unlike the last mentioned.

(Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1658; Brunn, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 261, 262. Helbig calls it a copy of a bronze statue of Peloponnesian school.)

Figure in the Ny-Carlsberg Gallery, headless.

Catalogue, Pl. 7, 8, p. 13. Arndt considers it a Greek original. A head in plaster is now added.

The Hestia Giustiniani, with veiled head.

A figure in Greek marble, headless, now belonging to Mrs. J. Gardner of Boston. (Mariani in *Bull. Comm. di Roma*, 1901, p. 71, Pl. VI.).

Bronze girls from Herculaneum, the peplos variously arranged.

All of these statues show considerable severity.

In this connexion should be mentioned a very interesting series of statuettes about a metre high, existing in the Doge's palace at Venice, and coming from the Grimani Collection, which was formed in Greece in the sixteenth century. These are described by Furtwängler.¹ According to him they belong together, and are Greek originals from some temple in the Greek Islands or Asia Minor. They range in date from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century. The dress in some cases is the Ionian chiton with himation, in some cases the Dorian peplos. Whom do they represent? The view of Furtwängler is that they all represent Demeter or Persephone, and belong to a shrine of these deities; but only one or two have any of the attributes of the goddesses, and it is more probable that most of them represent women. The heads, however, so far as they remain, are not individual, so that we seem in this case to have a continuation of the early custom of dedicating generalized female figures in the temples of the deities. Two points which are common to all these figures, that they are of Parian marble, and that they show no Ionian chiton under the peplos, as well as their small size, make a broad line of distinction between them and our statue. Certainly they are not of Attic school.

Figures of this class, clad only in the peplos, are commonly regarded as Peloponnesian, and, generally speaking, with justice. We know that Dorian girls were thus clad. Thus we are told that Periander of Epidaurus saw Melitta the daughter of Procles clad in the chiton only (*ἀναπτύχοντες καὶ*

¹ *Abhandl. der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, vol. xxii, part 2, p. 277.

μοροχήτων,⁵ by which is doubtless meant the peplos. In one of the fragments of *Ahaetoon*⁶ we have the phrase *ἔσθιτα χιτῶνα δωριδέαν*, which shows that the absence of a chiton under the peplos was generally recognised as a distinctively Dorian costume. The peplos served both as the *ἔσθιτα* or undergarment and the *τερπλάγμα* or outer garment.⁷ And this information derived from ancient writers, is confirmed by existing remains. A number of small bronzes and terracottas of this type have been found in Peloponnesus.⁸ But though most of the statues above mentioned are Peloponnesian, there may be exceptions, since the Dorian dress became quite usual for girls at Athens in the early fifth century. For example, the beautiful *Hestia* (Institution) may very well be an Attic original.

But there is a second group, of which the Attic origin is probable. It consists of figures which wear, under the Dorian dress, a fine linen chiton.

The prototype is the archaic dedicated figure in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, which differs from all of the rest of the set in dress, and is one of the earliest. It is well known.⁹ The under chiton is clearly visible on the upper arms. Some other Acropolis figures, of a time before the Persian wars, show the same costume: an Athena (Dickins Cat. No. 140); a Nike (Cat. No. 693), etc. Furtwängler insists on the Attic character of these. A few later works in the round with this costume are known, such as the great Medici torso of Athens in Paris, and a statuette in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum 675 metres high (Cat. p. 13), of which the head is supposed to belong, though re-inserted; this figure is of Pentelic marble, and so probably Attic.

Closer to our statue, alike in head and body, is the figure in the Archaeological Museum at Florence already mentioned. The size is given by Dütschko as more than life. Both arms are restorations. Milani in his Guide to the Museum describes the statue. It has been wrongly restored as Demeter, holding ears of corn; Milani regards it as an Aphrodite. He calls it a fine Phidian type (tipo fidiaco) and says that it is of Pentelic marble. He also figures it (Plato CL, No. 6), but on so small a scale that it cannot be clearly seen. I insert here a cut (Fig. 2) made from a photograph kindly supplied by the Director, Sig. Pernier, through the friendly mediation of Mrs. Strong. It will be seen that though the head apparently closely resembles that of our statue, the style of the body is somewhat later, and the weight rests on the right leg, both feet, clad in shoes, are visible. The Florentine figure wears a fine chiton, and over that a doubled Dorian peplos, over which again is a small cloak, falling at the back down to the waist, and drawn forward over both shoulders. It is the same dress, but for the under

⁵ Pythagoras in *Athenaeus*, viii. 36.

⁶ *J.H.S.* xxx, Pl. XIII.

⁷ *Fragm.* 39.

⁸ E. A. Gardner, *Handbook*, p. 170; Col-

⁹ *Follax*, vii. 49.

lignon, L, p. 361; other references in Dickins,

¹ See especially *Tiepus*, I, Pl. IX, X, &

Cat. Acropolis Museum, No. 679.

Reinach, *Répertoire des Inscriptions*, II, 613.]

chiton, which is worn by the girls in the Parthenon frieze; and this fact combined with the character of the marble, make clear its Attic origin.¹⁰



FIG. 2.—STATUE IN THE MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO, FLORENCE.

¹⁰ This figure is not mentioned by Anshing in his *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, (1897).

In the *Bulletin Comptes* for 1897 Mariani publishes several female figures which bear some likeness to the Ashmolean statue. The only one of them which calls for more detailed mention is one found in Crete.¹⁰ It is of Greek marble, small-grained and like ivory in hue; whence it would seem to be Pentelic. The height is six feet; the figure not only wears the Ionic chiton under the Ilian peplos, but even the folds of the over-garment, the ponderation, and the way in which the right foot comes out, are almost identical with the Ashmolean figure, which however, so far as one may judge from photographs, seems to be much finer in execution. But the remarkable thing is that the head of the Cretan figure which, though reinserted, seems to belong to it, is of quite another type. It is of rather severe features, with the hair in two masses over the temples, and drawn back in a knot at the back. Several heads of the kind are known. Acodi has brought together several of them,¹¹ and expressed the view, which is in fact generally held, that they are of Peloponnesian type. But of this there is no adequate proof. In fact they vary considerably among themselves; and the Cretan head, at all events, has an Attic appearance.

It is well-known that, after the Persian wars, there was a great tendency at Athens to abandon Ionic customs, in dress and other matters, and to adopt the Dorian ways. In dress the change was rather gradual. Thracian dedications figures of the Acropolis nearly all wear the Ionic chiton, and over it a cloak or himation. And most Athenian figures, both in vase-painting and sculpture, still wear this dress after the Persian wars. By the time of Praxiteles it had again become usual, though in the fourth century the cloak was far more elaborately arranged. But meantime, during most of the fifth century, the Dorian modes were prevalent. Thus in Attic vase-paintings of the time just after the Persian wars the Dorian peplos is very frequently found on girls, either open or joined, and with or without girdle. But the combination of the Ionic chiton, as an undergarment, with the Doric peplos is a rarer arrangement. It is difficult to trace in red-figure vase-painting, except in the case of Athena. Athena certainly sometimes is thus clad; I would instance the Theseus vase of Euphrônios;¹² also she is thus clad on the earlier Athenian terracotta, representing the birth of Erichthonius.¹³ But though this infrequent on vases, this particular form of dress is quite Athenian. It is also to be found later on the well-known relief from the later temple at Ephesus, which represents (perhaps) the return of Alcestis from Hades, and in Hellenistic and Roman art.

The marble and the costume thus both indicate Athens as the place of origin of our statue; the next point is the date. This is certainly about the middle of the fifth century. The decisive features are the following:—The upright folds of the drapery, and particularly the folds across the breast, belong to a time shortly before the Parthenon of Phidias and the Iris of the Parthenon pediment, and a little later than the Strophos of the

¹⁰ *Bull. Com.*, 1897, Pl. XII.-XIII., p. 170.
¹¹ *Le glyptotheque Ny Carlsberg*, p. 49.

¹² *Fortschreiter und Rauchfeld*, Pl. 5.
¹³ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1872, Pl. 63.

Olympia pediment and the bronze charioteer of Delphi. The work of the outer corners of the eyes is a good test of the date of statues. In figures earlier than the middle of the fifth century, such as the sculpture of Olympia, the upper eyelid meets the lower at an angle, but does not overlap it. After the middle of the century it does overlap. We may see the custom coming in in the head of Nemesis by Agoracritus and the sculptures of the Parthenon. One can only cite dated works on such points as these; to cite undated works is useless. And to cite Roman copies is still more futile, for the Roman copyist often alters or transposes such small points of style. In our statue the upper eyelid does not overlap. A survey alike of drapery and head thus justifies one in assigning our statue to B.C. 460-440.

The school must be that of Phedias, the most noteworthy of the schools of Athens at the period. Though Phedias's greatest works were in ivory and gold, yet he is said to have also worked in marble, and a statue of Aphrodite of his handiwork, made of Parian marble, was shewn at Elis,¹³ and another in the Gallery of Octavia at Rome.¹⁴ The other noted Athenian school of sculpture at the time was that of Calamis, which was distinctly conservative and Ionic in character. Calamis and his pupils devoted their skill to the perfecting of graceful detail. We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁵ that the school of Calamis was noted for lightness and grace (*λεπτότης καὶ χάρις*) while that of Phedias aimed at what was dignified and large in style (*τὸν σεμνὸν καὶ πεγαδότεχνον καὶ δεξιωματικόν*). There can scarcely be a doubt as to which of these tendencies is shown in our statue. A noted feature in the Phidian school was the adoption of Peloponnesian dress, as is shown by the use of the Dorian peplos in the Phidian statues of Athena. But sometimes, as in the great Medici statue of Athena—no doubt a somewhat later work of Phidian type—the finer under-chiton was combined with the peplos. There can thus be little question but that our figure must belong to the Phidian school. We do not know with certainty when Phedias began his activity, but he must have been born very early in the fifth century, and as we shall see later he was well established by B.C. 460.

III.

Let us next more carefully examine the head (Pl. II.). I know of only one head of the same type and of so early a period, that of the statue in Florence already mentioned. But parallels of a somewhat later date exist in several museums. Bernoulli has enumerated them;¹⁶ and Furtwängler,¹⁷ S. Reinach,¹⁸ and others have discussed them. They form the group commonly regarded as portraits of Sappho.

The most distinctive feature in the Ashmolean head is the way in which the hair is arranged in the form called a *sphenidone*, from its likeness to a

¹³ Plin. i. 14, 7.

¹⁴ Grisebach, *Iconographic*, i. pp. 50-72.

¹⁵ Pliny, xxvi. 15.

¹⁶ *Museumwerke*, p. 102; *Masterpieces*, p. 70.

¹⁷ *De Fornari*, ch. 2.

¹⁸ *Cecilia die Kunst-Arch.*, 1892, 2, p. 457.

sling. The band is narrow above the forebend, wider a little higher up, widest at the back of the head, where it forms a sort of bag. Above the middle of the forehead is a fastening in form like an ivy-leaf, and on either side over the temple there is a bunch of hair, while two spiral curls in the form of sea-shells hang on each temple. The *spheudone* is common on the heads of goddesses on the coins of Syracuse¹⁹ and Corinth,²⁰ where it occurs in infinite variety. It occurs often also in Attic sepulchral reliefs. The *spheudone* on the head of Hegeso²¹ is remarkably like that on the present head, and the hair running in parallel waves is adapted to the lines of the fillet in similar fashion in both heads; but in the case of Hegeso the ends of the fillet fall in front of the ears.

The little spiral curls, two on each cheek, are a more notable feature, and may furnish us with a clue. As to their origin, they seem to succeed and to supersede the long curls falling over the breast which are usual in archaic art, and so they form a transition to later styles of hair-dressing. In the Chigi Athena at Dresden,²² which may be regarded as in almost all respects a faithful copy of an original of the mid-fifth century, there are still three curls on each shoulder, but they are no longer stiff and formal. In the head of one of the bronze figures of women from Herculaneum, we have three curls on each cheek, but they no longer fall over the breast. Formal curls lingered longer in Asia Minor, as relics of the stately customs of early art. We may judge this from the formal curls on the head of Artemisia from the Mausoleum, and the head from Priene. Traces of the old convention may even be found in the masks of the comic stage. In the dress of the New Comedy at Athens, the mask of the courtesan had curls by the ear (*βοστρύχους ἔχει περὶ τὰ ὄτα*),²³ and her hair was bound about with a taenia (*ταινίῳ τὴν κεφαλήν περισφεγγάνει*). The particle *περι-* seems to imply something more than one simple band, and would very well apply to such an arrangement as that of our statue. Probably the dress of the stage courtesan was taken from that of some of the noted courtesans of Ionia, and they no doubt followed the highest fashions of their time. Thus, though the *spheudone* in itself is a very ordinary headdress, we may well suppose that when combined with the short curls it was specially appropriate to the attractive women of Ionia.

The attribution of the heads of this type to Sappho is based on grounds which are not very solid. The reason consisted, in fact, in the inscription on a hem in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome, on which was a head with this kind of headdress,—which inscription is certainly modern.²⁴

The figure of Sappho is found on vases of the red-figured class and on terracottas—Bernoulli has made a list of these representations, and several

¹⁹ For example, Head's *Syracuse* (*Nova. Chron.* 1874, Pl. III, I, V, 1, 2, etc.).

²⁰ Dr. Max. Cich., *Corinth*, Pl. V, and X.

²¹ *Coinc.* Pl. XXX. This figure is closely like the Parthenon Frieze.

²² First published in *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 43-50; Pl. I.

²³ Pollux, 10, 122.

²⁴ See Bernoulli, *Griech. Hem.* I, p. 61.

of them are put together by Jahn,²⁵ I do not find in them anything distinctive, or indicating a knowledge of sculptural types. Some of the bronze coins of Mytilene of the Roman imperial class give representations of the head of Sappho and of a seated statue of her. But they are on so small a scale that they give us no testimony of value as regards features, and the hair sometimes is bound with a kerchief, sometimes with a fillet, and sometimes is arranged in a simple knot.

But much more interesting is the head to be found on bronze autonomous coins of Mytilene of about A.D. 200²⁶ (Fig. 3). The little lyre which occupies the reverse of these coins seems to be purposefully contrasted with the large square lyre which occupies the reverse of the coins on the obverse of which Apollo appears. And the notable feature of the two shortcurls on the cheek of the female head on the obverse seems to indicate an individual, not a deity. Julius Pollux tells us that the people of Mytilene put Sappho on their coins;²⁷ and he can scarcely be referring to the coins of the imperial



FIG. 3.—BRONZE COIN OF MYTILENE ENLARGED.

age, as in the other coin-types which he mentions he must be speaking of the autonomous series. I am therefore disposed to think that on the bronze coins to which I refer the head is that of Sappho, perhaps regarded as one of the Muses, and as the object of a cult.²⁸ These coins, however, being very small and of conventional character, do not help us to recover the actual traits of the poetess, or rather of her accepted art-type, for considering the period of Sappho, there could not exist any naturalistic portrait of her. Later sculptors who portrayed her, such as Silanion, who was a contemporary of Plato, must have created a conventional art-type of Sappho, just as they did of Homer.

We must examine the whole class of sculptured heads called 'Sappho.' They differ widely one from the other in essential particulars, and range in date from the middle of the fifth century to the time of Alexander. I will try to group them in chronological order.

²⁵ *Über Darstellungen griech. Dichter und Poeten*.

²⁶ Odore. 12. 84.

²⁷ *Ad. Max. Cat., Transl. 47*, Pl. XXXVIII. 4-7.

²⁸ In the *Bz. Mus. Ost.* Wroth thinks the head is of Aphrodite.

The earliest group is that which comprises two heads only, that of the Ashmolean statue, and that of the statue at Florence. Here the work of the eyes is almost archaic, long narrow eyes without any overlapping of eyelids.



FIG. 4.—THE "OXFORD HEAD."

The curls on the cheek are also a clear survival of archaic art. These heads I reserve for further discussion.

The group second in order of date is in many ways quite different. Noteworthy examples are—

Bust in the Ashmolean Museum, the so-called 'Oxford Bust' (Fig. 4).

Head in Cormoto,²⁸ which appears to be similar but inferior.

Head in the janiform bust at Madrid, called Phœn and Sappho.²⁹

The Oxford bust is well-known, and has been frequently figured, but never adequately. I take this opportunity to edit it more seriously. (Pl. III.) The head has been put together from several fragments, but is complete except for the nose, and a part over the left temple. It is very pleasing, but unfortunately it has been so much exposed to the weather that little remains of the original surface. Especially noteworthy are the remarkable shape of the face, which is in form almost oblong, and the extremely beautiful arrangement of the hair, which is bound with crossing bands. This hair in its wavy outlines has quite the character of the fifth century.

The connexion between head and breast has caused much perplexity to archaeologists. The head has been regarded as a work of Pheidalian school; but no parallel to the drapery is to be found earlier than the Pergamene age. Perhaps the nearest parallel is to be found in the drapery of figures in the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, especially in the figure called Selene who rides on a horse.³⁰ This drapery is beautifully executed, and has suffered from weathering. It is drawn together round the bosom with a hem which, as Michaelis observed, passes tightly over the right breast without in any way modifying it. If this bust is antique, it must be part of an ancient statue with all but the front surface cut away in order to lighten it, for busts of this form were quite unknown in Greece. Furtwängler in speaking of this bust³¹ says that it does not belong to the head, but he does not say whether he regards it as ancient or modern. Professor Lethaby has suggested that it is a fine work of the Renaissance, and that seems to me the best solution of a difficult problem. In any case we must reject it as in no way connected with the head and so outside the present investigation.

The head seems to be of different marble from the bust; but both marbles are Greek: I think the head is Pentelic.³² The restorations are the most (which is very bad) and some of the locks of hair over the left temple, which have been restored in plaster.³³ The eyelids are almost gone: but one can still see that the outer corners of the eyes are finished in the style of the mid-fifth century, with no overlapping of the upper eyelid. In the older casts the neck was too long, in consequence of the interposition of a band of plaster between head and lower neck. This band has been partly removed.

Furtwängler and S. Reinach (a strong combination) have pronounced this head a work of the school of Pheidias. This is probable, though the arguments of neither writer can be called convincing. Furtwängler's arguments rest upon his views as to Pheidias suggested by the head at Bologna, which he regards as the Lemnian Athena. Reinach's arguments

²⁸ *Denks. der Boiss. Akad.*, 1902, 2, p. 657.

²⁹ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 68.

³⁰ *Alteh. von Pergamon*, iii. 23 Pl. V.

³¹ *Staatsmuseum*, p. 50.

³² A careful description in Michaelis, *Ant. Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 555.

are based upon the Labordé head, supposed to belong to the Parthenon pediment. This again is not very safe ground. The Labordé head is so much restored (forehead, nose, lips, chin, back of head)¹⁴ that it is only authoritative for the treatment of hair and eyes. And as Phœdias certainly did not execute the Parthenon pediments (see p. 16), a head belonging to them can be no safe index of his style.

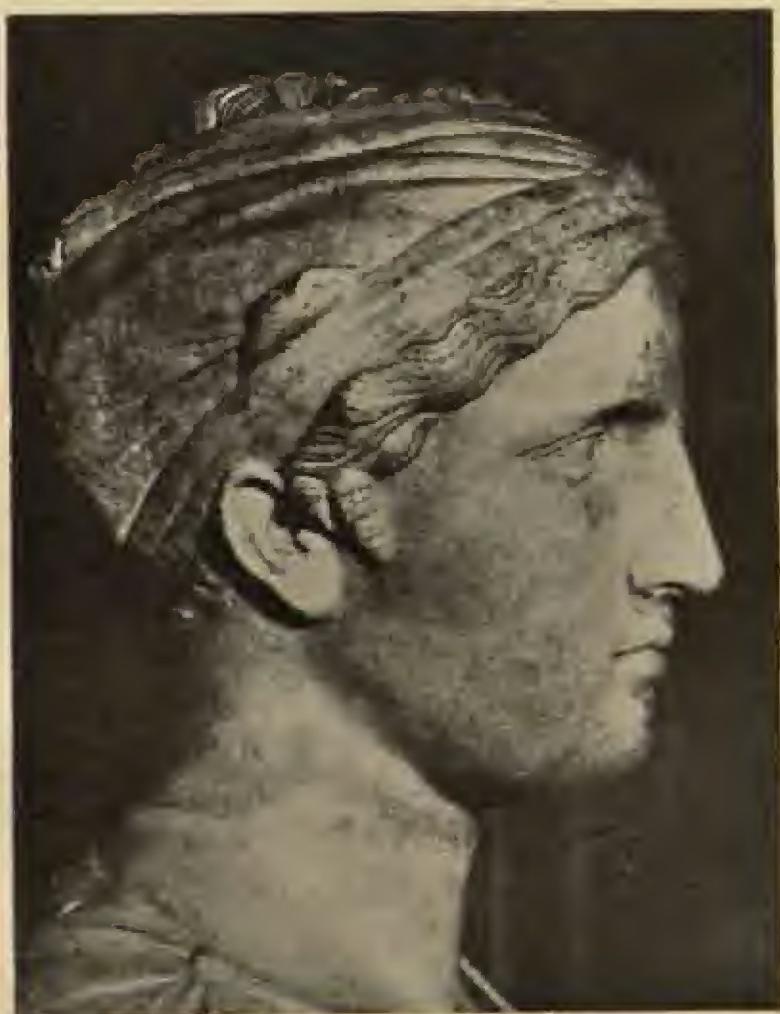


FIG. 2.—HEAD IN THE VILLA ALBANI.

A much safer authority for the Phœdian treatment of hair and eyes is to be found in the fragment of the head of Nemesis from Rhiumus, by

¹⁴ See R. Sauer, *Der Weber-Labordé'sche Kopf*, 1903.

Agoracritus,²⁴ since this was a great religious work, and not merely decorative. Ancient critics were in doubt whether the statue was by Pheidias or Agoracritus, or by them jointly; but it is a first-rate piece of evidence for the wavy lines of the hair and the transitional corners of the eyes, which are doubtless late Pheidalian in character.

A very interesting comparison may be made between the Oxford head and the head of the Greek poetess in the Palaoe of the Conservatori at Rome.²⁵ This delightful full-length figure, of Greek marble, clad only in a himation, has been restored as Urania, with globe and rod; but this restoration is incorrect; and the attributes of the figure are lost, only that by her side is a box of manuscripts which is antique, and which proves that she was an authoress. According to Bullo, she originally held a lyre. The face is clearly a portrait; but the remarkable point about it is that it is unmistakably like the Oxford head. The long, almost oblong, form of the face, the long narrow eyes, the full lower lip, the fashion of hair and head-dress all correspond. The style of the Roman head is, however, somewhat more advanced and the appearance more youthful.

We must have in the two cases portraits of a poetess. There was no poetess at Athens in the fifth century. The representation is far more probably of some well-known poetess of an earlier age, such as Sappho. The dress of the Roman figure, consisting only of an over-garment which leaves the right shoulder bare, though quite usual in the case of a man, is very unusual, if not unique, in the case of a woman. What it may signify it is not easy to determine. For this head I am disposed to retain the identification as Sappho.

The third group is best represented in two heads of the Galleria Geografica and the Villa Albani²⁶ (Fig. 5). The features are of solid, not to say stolid, type. The hair is not merely bound with a *sphendone*, but almost entirely concealed by it. The eyes are large, the chin massive. There are curls on the cheek. This type certainly closely resembles the head on the bronze coins of Mytilene, which I have already tried to shew to be Sappho. I am greatly disposed to agree with Professor Winter, who regards it as a copy of the portrait of Sappho made by Silanion in the first half of the fourth century.²⁷ He compares the bronze coins of Mytilene above cited with engravings on the cheek.

The fourth group is represented by a noteworthy head in the Pitti Palace at Florence²⁸ (Fig. 6). Here again the hair is almost concealed by

²⁴ *Br. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture*, I, p. 264.

²⁵ *Bull. Oss. archeol. conservatori*, 1878, Pl. I., Arndt-Brockmann, *Porträts*, IV, 143-4.

²⁶ Bernoulli, *Griech. Himerg.* I, pp. 45, 67.

²⁷ *Jahrbuch des Inst.* v. Pl. 5.

²⁸ Bernoulli, *Ue. Rom.* I, p. 89; Arndt-Brockmann, *Porträts*, Pl. 10, 150.

the kerchief. But the character of the head is quite different, passionate and enthusiastic, and at once reminding us of the works of Scopas and of Lysippus. This must be a representation of a poetess, probably a head of Sappho of the later part of the fourth century.



FIG. 6.—HEAD IN THE PITTI PALACE.

These last three groups of heads cannot in any objective sense represent the same person. They are of varied character. Even the style of the headdress is not really the same, varying between a long themis and a kerchief. Yet of course they may all be varied representations of a person who lived before the age of portraiture. It seems not unreasonable to regard

them all as postoses; the heads in group 3 being almost certainly intended for Sappho, the second and the fourth groups being of more doubtful attribution.

The attribution of group 1 remains for further consideration in the next section. Meantime, I wish further to justify my claim that we have in our statue an early work of the Pheidian school. We have treated separately the body and the head, and have found that both, in the present state of our archaeological evidence, point to a Pheidian origin. But this view may be unpleasing, and may even seem paradoxical, to some English students who take their notions as to Pheidias from the Elgin Room at the British Museum. So it is necessary to say a few words as to our evidence for the period and style of Pheidias.

As Pheidias was represented as a bald and elderly man on the shield of the Parthenos statue,⁴⁹ made about 440 B.C., he cannot have been born much later than B.C. 500. Among his earliest works was probably the Athena of Pellene; for if this figure of Athena is represented, as is probable, on the coins⁵⁰ of the city, it is of an archaic Palladium-like type. Pheidias made for the Athenians two monuments in memory of Marathon, the great bronze Athena of the Acropolis, which was of stiff and early type, to judge from Athenian coins;⁵¹ and the great bronze group with portrait of Miltiades, set up at Delphi. Exactly when these works were set up we do not know, but their date is not likely to be more than twenty years after the battle (i.e. B.C. 470). Unfortunately we are unable to identify any of the earlier works of Pheidias among extant statues, for the intricate attempts of Furtwängler to make such identifications are far too speculative and fanciful to serve as a basis for any conclusions. Our best evidence for Pheidian style is derived from copies of the Parthenos statue dating from the Roman Age; the Lenormant statuette, the Varvakion statuette, and the copy from Patras. A comparison of these with such figures as the Athena from Pergamon and torsos found on the Athenian Acropolis does enable us to form a fairly adequate notion of the Parthenos statue. But of no other statue by Pheidias can we form a satisfactory idea. The attempt of Furtwängler to assign to the great master a number of works now extant in the form of Roman copies nowhere reaches more than a low degree of probability, and often rests on a very fragile substructure.

When one speaks of the work of Pheidias most people at once think of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. And that Pheidias was in a measure generally responsible for this is made probable by the phrase of Plutarch in reference to the buildings of Pericles, *πάντα διεῖσε καὶ πάντων ἀνέρων ἡρός* (*Περὶ τῆς Φεραίας*). But that Pheidias in person and

⁴⁹ This we learn from Plutarch, *Pericles*, PL 8, x.
⁵⁰ *Ibid.* PL 2, 1-41.

⁵¹ *Nomismatic Commentary on Pausanias*.

imminently directed the work of sculpture on the Parthenon is most unlikely. The oversight of such work was usually taken by the architect, and the architect of the Parthenon was not Pheidias but Ictinos. Moreover from the record which is extant of payments to sculptors for the work on the Athenian Erechtheum we may judge how many artists worked at once on a temple. In the fragment of this record which is preserved twelve sculptors are mentioned, some citizens and some resident aliens, all of whom are paid at the same rate, 100 drachmas (about 60 francs) for each figure. The pedimental figures of the Parthenon cannot be by Pheidias. An Attic inscription is preserved⁴² which records payment to the sculptors (not the sculptor) of the pediments; and the date of the document, though not absolutely fixed, appears to be too late for any superintendence by Pheidias.

Any careful examination of the sculpture of the Parthenon will shew not only varieties in execution but marked differences in important points of style. For example, two adjoining figures, Hephaestus and Poseidon, in the group of gods in the east frieze, are strongly contrasted in style, so are the running Nike of the east pediment and the adjoining seated figures. The actual sculptors, whatever they were, must have had quite a free hand; and this altogether accords with what we know of the ways of Greek artists in the fifth century. There was no broad line of distinction between sculptor and stone-mason. The latter may have worked under the general direction of a noted master, but he was no slavish subordinate. We know indeed that at Epidaurus Timotheus furnished models (*r̄iz̄os*) for one of the pediments, but that may have been a fourth-century innovation. And there are strong reasons for denying close relations between Pheidias and (at all events) the pedimental figures of the Parthenon. These not only were probably made after his death or imprisonment, but also they are much freer in style than the great cultus figures for which Pheidias was noted. The fact is that the great field for practice in sculpture offered by the decoration of the Parthenon seems to have produced a very rapid improvement in freedom and technique. It seems at first sight almost incredible that some of the stiffer nuptials of the Parthenon, and the pedimental group of the Fates, can have belonged to the same building, and been produced within a few years of one another.

If Pheidias was really responsible for the planning of the sculpture of the Parthenon, it must have been quite at the end of his life. His earlier activities were concentrated on such works as the great statues of Athena at Plataea and Pelopon, and the magnificent bronze memorial of Marathon set up at Delphi; and we know from ancient writers that it was not for technique that he was noted, but for the preciousness of his materials, and above all for his success in embodying the highest religious ideas of his contemporaries.

⁴² Woodward in *Annual of Hist. School*, 1899-10, p. 198. Mr. Woodward observes that Pheidias exercised practically no super-

vision over the last stages of the decoration of the Parthenon.

III.

In discussing the meaning and attribution of our statue, we have before us three alternatives. It may represent, first a deity, secondly a generalized type, or thirdly an individual.

The generalized type, to begin with, the second alternative, is best represented by the great series of archaic female figures dedicated to Athena, which was discovered on the Acropolis of Athens in the excavations of the latter part of the last century. That these figures did not represent the goddess is I think generally allowed; nor did they represent her priestesses. They must have been dedicated to Athena by her worshippers. But they had nothing individual about them; they were not portraits, but *xópæ* or girls given to, and belonging to, Athena. Similar series have been found on other sites.

In the case of the present statue we may reject this interpretation. These series of *xópæ* belong rather to archaic art than to that of the fifth century, although as I have already suggested, they may have been in some places continued. But anyone who carefully looks at our statue will reject at once the notion that it represents no one in particular; it is far too full of character.

A point not without importance is its size, six feet in height. That was certainly not, at all events for a Greek woman, life size, but heroic size. The usual height for a male heroic figure was about 6 feet 8 inches (2 mètres). Six feet for a woman nearly corresponds to six feet and eight inches for a man, being about one-seventh more than the normal height, taking that at 5 feet 10 inches for a man and 5 feet 3 inches for a woman. The series of dedicated kouros at Athens and elsewhere are usually below life size. The heroic scale shews that our statue is not merely one of a series, but a figure of special significance, like the figures of the Tyrannicides at Athens or the Agias group of portraits at Delphi.

There remain the two other alternatives, a deity or a portrait. But these alternatives do not strictly exclude one another. For in the great period of Greek art, as well as in its later periods, it was possible to represent a person, living or dead, in the guise of a deity, and with some of the attributes of deity. It is in this compound way that I am disposed to interpret our statue.

If, whether simply, or in a divine translation, it is a representation of an Athenian lady, one can scarcely avoid the question as to the person portrayed.

According to the manners of Athens at the time, it is very unlikely that any ordinary matron would be represented in a statue. The queens of Syria and Egypt in the third century appeared in many statues. But the Athenians of the fifth century, and especially the statesmen, held that women of repute should not be seen (save on rare occasions) outside their own houses, that

their duties were limited to control of their children and their slaves. It is unlikely that a statue of any of them would be put up in a public place.

We must consider important facts in the history of Athens. We know from the life of Pericles by Plutarch, as well as from the comedies of Aristophanes, that a revolt against the accepted view of women was in progress at the time of the Peloponnesian war and even earlier. Many Athenian women were dissatisfied with the trivial round, the common task, and wanted to become of more account in public life and even in politics. At the head of this movement were two remarkable women, Elpinice and Aspasia. They were of very different rank. Elpinice, daughter of Miltiades and sister of Cimon, belonged to one of the highest families. But she chose to disregard the conventions of propriety, was a close friend of Pericles, and though married to a distinguished citizen, Callias, did many things which at the time caused scandal. The character of Aspasia has been in modern times the subject of much controversy. In origin she was a Milesian: probably her family had been sold into slavery on the failure of the Ionian Revolt. She had become, probably without any option, a hetaera, and drifting to Athens became the mistress of Pericles, who divorced his legal wife and openly lived with her. That she was clever and highly accomplished we are assured. She seems to have held a kind of *salon* to which the friends of Pericles resorted, and even in some cases took their wives. Socrates was among her admirers; and she was even credited—by the credulous—with the composition of the speeches of Pericles. After the death of Pericles, she took up with Lysicles, a dealer in cattle, and caused him to become an orator. Evidently she was in an eminent degree unconventional. But some modern admirers who try to represent her as not only brilliant but of high character, go beyond the mark. We need not accept all the many scandalous tales told about her at Athens, for we know that scandal was as ripe in ancient as it is in modern Athens. But we make a mistake when we try to transplant into the glowing air of ancient Athens modern English notions. The class in which Aspasia belonged was held in no high esteem at Athens; and though she had exceptional talent, she was not generally regarded as above corrupt influences and debased means of acquiring wealth.

These two women, Elpinice and Aspasia, are perhaps the only two women of Athens in the middle of the fifth century likely to have had their effigies put up in a public place. And it is curious that we have just two Athenian portraits of women at the period.¹¹ One is closely wrapped in a cloak, with a veil on the back of the head, a figure equally charming and modest (Fig. 7), which has been reconstituted by Ameling,¹² from a veiled head of fifth century type at Berlin and a body of later date, which certainly belonged to the same type. That the head had been called a head of Aspasia need not influence us, for the attribution rested on no evidence whatever. It

¹¹ The Heraia cuirassari may perhaps be a third, but her place of refuge is uncertain.

¹² Published by Ameling in *Ant. Min.* xx.

represents a dignified Athenian matron, certainly not Aspasia, but very possibly Elpinice. If a statue of Elpinice were put up, it would have been of this type.



FIG. 7.—STATUE OF AN ATHENIAN MATRON.

I am tempted to venture somewhat further in the explanation of Dr. Amelung's charming statue in connexion with our own. The question naturally suggests itself and is discussed by Amelung,²⁵ whether it can be

²⁵ *Röm. Mit.* xv. p. 191.

a copy of one of the most celebrated statues of antiquity, the Sosandra of Calamis, which has always been something of a puzzle. This statue was set up at the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens. Whether it was identical with a statue of Aphrodite by Calamis seen near the same spot by Pausanias¹⁵ has been disputed, but this seems by far the most probable view. But it does not at all follow that Pausanias is right when he called the figure Aphrodite; he may have judged quite hastily. He says it was a dedication by the Athenian Callias, who was the husband of Elpinice.

I cannot here discuss at length all the views which have been put forth as regards the statue of Sosandra. This task has been very satisfactorily carried out by Studniacka.¹⁶ I quite agree with this writer that Sosandra, the saviour of a man or men, is a singularly inept epithet for Aphrodite who was regarded as misguiding men rather than saving them. Nor does it occur anywhere else as an epithet of Aphrodite or other deities. Another explanation must be sought for.

On the Acropolis there has been found an inscription reading¹⁷ ΚΑΛΙΑΣ ΗΙΤΡΟΝΙΚΟ ΑΝΕΟΕΦΕΝ on a base on which once stood a bronze statue. At first of course one would suppose that this must have been the basis of the Sosandra statue. But this turns out to be a false light. For on the basis are the marks on which stood two naked feet which supported the lost statue. It could not have been a draped female figure, but it must have been a male statue—very probably an Apollo. Callias indeed, being wealthy, may have made many dedications. However, our concern is not with the various dedications of Callias, but only with the Sosandra.

Lucian, in an often-cited passage calls the statue made by Calamus Sosandra merely, and his description of her is noteworthy. In his *Imagines*¹⁸ he speaks of the figure as notable for modesty (*τιδοε*), for a staid and unconscious smile (*πειθαρη στρωτη και λαχνησ*), for the trim and orderly folds of her cloak,¹⁹ and for the veiled head. Lucian is the only ancient critic of art who has to be considered with respect; in his youth he had been a sculptor, and he knew what he was talking about. His words bring up to our minds just such a figure as that of Antinous, and it belongs to the period and probably to the style of Calamus. Archaeologists have been disposed, in the absence of clear light as to the style of this sculptor, to regard him as working in the style of the latest of the archaic dedicated figures of the Athenian Acropolis, late examples of the old Ionian art, wearing the chiton, and an over-garment over one shoulder or both. And certainly the terms delicacy and charm (*λεπτοτης και χαρμη*) applied to his statues by Dionysius of Halicarnassus²⁰ would apply to those statues. But they apply quite equally well to the veiled lady under consideration. And, in fact, we

¹⁵ & 23, 2.

¹⁶ *Kalamis*, 1897.

¹⁷ Studniacka, *Kalamis*, p. 56.

¹⁸ Ch. 4.

¹⁹ The word is *λαχνησ*, an older garment; this verbifies such figures as the Herakleion Huntresses.

²⁰ *De Invent.*, ch. 3.

can scarcely imagine that after the Persian wars, when Athens was boiling over with new ideas in art, a great sculptor like Calamis would keep up a merely traditional type. He probably retained the Ionic dress but used it with freer hand and greater artistic effect, leading art in the way in which Praxiteles afterwards developed it.

Amelung finds a difficulty about identifying his statue with the Sosandra in another passage of Lycian²² in which, as he thinks, the ankles of the Sosandra are praised, and so must have been shown. The passage is ambiguous; but I cannot find in it more than a general assertion that the Sosandra was universally appreciated and warmly praised.²³ In fact it is unlikely that a draped figure of the period, notable for dignity and modesty, wearing a cloak, would show her ankles. I think that we may set this passage aside, as giving no clear evidence.

But if Callias dedicated a statue called Sosandra, the saviour of a man, it is easy to find an occasion when he might have done so. In B.C. 463 Elpinice, his wife, by pleading with Pericles, the accuser, saved her brother Cimon from being condemned to death for treason. On such an occasion it would be very natural for Callias, who was much in love with his wife, to set up her statue in the guise of Sosandra.²⁴ To her the matronly veil would be as suitable as it would be unsuitable to a figure of Aspasia.

The other portrait of a fifth century Athenian woman is that represented by our Ashmolean statue; as well as by the statue at Florence. It is curious that Bernoulli²⁵ should have remarked 'We might be disposed to search for the portrait (of Aspasia) among those heads of Aphrodite-like type, with beautiful head-covering, which we have been accustomed to call Sappho, some of which in style go back to the fifth century.' With this suggestion I am in agreement. If a statue of Aspasia were set up, it would probably represent her not as a matron, but partly as a woman and partly as a goddess.

Our statue is not a mere portrait, but a portrait of a woman in the guise of a deity. It was not without some justification that so able judges as Fortwangler and Reinach saw in the group of heads to which ours belongs representations of Aphrodite. In fact, women in Greece were seldom honoured with a statue, unless they were more or less deified: and this applies to the fifth century. Of Sappho there was a temple and a cultus at Mytilene. Leontine, the friend of the tyrant-slayer Aristogeiton, was honoured at Athens as a heroine after her death. To Phila the wife of Demetrios Poliorcetes the Athenians erected a temple, identifying her with Aphrodite. Amastris figures as a goddess on the coins of the city which bore her name. It is not at all rare to find erected on Greek tombs statues of the deceased in the guise of Hermes or even Asklepios. How easy the process of deification was among the Greeks, if any of their friends had

²² *Dial. Meritr.*, iii. 2.

²³ Fortwangler takes this view: *Sitzungsber.* der kaiser. Akademie, 1867, part ii. p. 168.

= The assignment of a fresh name to those who were bequeathed was an ordinary custom.

²⁴ *Griech. Bildner*, i. p. 113.

money to make an endowment, is shown by the celebrated document known as the will of Epicteta.

Perhaps the closest parallel to a deification of Aspasia as Aphrodite may be found in the similar deification of Lamia. Lamia was an Athenian hetera who captivated Demetrios Poliorcetes, who abandoned for her his noble wife Phila. The Athenians and the Thebans both erected temples in which Lamia was adored under the name of Aphrodite. And the people of Lamia in Thessaly put on their coins a striking head of Lamia-Aphrodite.²⁷ The hair in this portrait hangs loose about her ears in a fashion unknown in portraits of matrons.

That Calamis should make a statue for Callias and Cimon, and Phedias one for Pericles and Aspasia quite accords with what we know of the political relations of the two schools. Calamis was connected with the Athenian conservatives, Phedias with the popular party of Pericles. The Aspasia-Aphrodite of Phedias might well be a reply to the Elpinice-Sasandra of Calamis.

I must try to determine at what periods the portraits of Elpinice and Aspasia would be likely to be made. Elpinice was no longer very young when she interceded with Pericles on behalf of her brother Cimon, c.c. 463;²⁸ she may then have been approaching thirty, since Miltiades died in 489, and probably Elpinice was born shortly before that year.²⁹ Aspasia was decidedly younger. Jüdeich, in a careful paper in Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*, after examining the evidence, decides that Pericles' son by Aspasia must have been born in c.c. 449-440.

Amelung's statue above mentioned, with veiled head, is given by the general voice of archaeologists to about c.c. 460; Calamis flourished c.c. 480-440.³⁰ The Ashmolean statue I have already assigned to c.c. 460-440, which corresponds with the active period of Phedias. There is then no reason arising out of chronology why these two statues should not respectively represent Elpinice and Aspasia, and come from the workshops of the great sculptors whom I have mentioned.

Of course, if our portrait is really of Aspasia, that would decidedly be a reason why the great master himself, as a personal friend of Pericles and Aspasia, should have made it. And he did work in marble. But the question whether a statue merely comes from the workshop of a great sculptor, or whether he himself made it, is much more important in reference to modern than in reference to ancient sculpture. The modern artist is anxious that all his work should bear his personal imprint; this search for originality did not sway an ancient artist, who was content to reproduce traditional types only improving upon them in detail, or distinguishing them by fine execution. It is probable, for the reason which I have given above, their employment on the great temples at Athens, that the pupils of Phedias, Alcamenes, and

²⁷ Mr. Max. Cat., *Thessaly*, Pl. IV, 1, 2.

²⁸ Plutarch's *Pericles*, ch. 3. Pericles, rather curiously, tells Elpinice that she is too old for the business.

²⁹ Possibly the name Elpinice, 'Hope of victory,' may have had to do with Marathon.

³⁰ These are the dates arrived at by Studnicka, *Kalender*, p. 81.

Agoraeitus excelled their master in the production of works in marble; though they never had an opportunity of surpassing him in the great religious line of art. Lysippus was credited with the authorship of 1,500 statues, many of them of colossal size; and it is clear that he can have been only the head of a factory, though no doubt he may have impressed something of his style on all works which came out of his factory. I am quite content to say that our statue came from the workshop of Pheidias, without affirming his personal relation to it. There was shown at Olympia a workshop of Pheidias; and no doubt many years before he began the great statue of Zeus he had a workshop at Athens, alike for works in gold and ivory and in marble. Judging by what we really know as to the Pheidalian treatment of drapery, we are quite justified in saying that our Ashmolean statue is just what we should expect from this workshop about the middle of the fifth century.

Supposing our head to be meant for a portrait of Aspasia as Aphrodite, it may serve to account for the accusation of impiety which we know to have been brought against her. Pheidias, as Plutarch tells us,⁶¹ was accused of impiety because he introduced portraits of himself and Pericles into the relief representing a battle with Amazons which adorned the shield of the great Parthenon statue. Surely it would be still worse impiety, if either Pericles or Aspasia set up a portrait of a concubine in guise of a goddess. The enemies of Pericles, not daring to attack himself, brought actions against his special friends, Anaxagoras, Pheidias, Aspasia, and in each case on religious grounds.

Of course it may be said that we have no direct ancient authority for these suggestions; that they rest only on an ingenious collocation of possibilities; but they certainly well fit the facts so far as they are known; and do not go beyond the limits of permissible theory. It is quite legitimate; and indeed necessary, in history to go beyond our documents by conjecture: what is wrong is to give out conjectures as facts, or to build conjecture on conjecture until the whole edifice becomes top-heavy.

Possibly a somewhat different view may commend itself to some readers. They may take their start from the curls on the cheek, exact correspondence with which is only found on the bronze coins of Mytilene, and the statues which I have allowed to represent Sappho. Why, they may say, should not our statue represent Sappho, or if Aspasia, Aspasia in the guise of Sappho? This view is plausible, but it seems less acceptable than that which I have set forth. Greek portraits in many cases represent historic persons in the guise of deities. But I do not know of one which represents one historic person in the guise of another. Alexander the Great is represented as Hercules, and as Cester,⁶² but not as Milesius. An Athenian lady might appear as Aphrodite, or as a Muse, but not as a poetess whose works were well known. And that our statue is not a mere embodiment of someone's notion of Sappho seems to be proved both by its individual character, and by its simplicity and

⁶¹ Plutarch's *Pericles*, ch. xxxi.

⁶² In the remarkable statue lately discovered at Cyrene.

freedom from the imaginative element. Moreover, a statue of Sappho would scarcely represent her as clad in the Doric dress.

Perhaps other objections to the identification of our figure as Aspasia may be suggested. The head is scarcely ideally beautiful in form. But the women who have affected history by their attractions have seldom been ideally beautiful; rather bright and witty, able to amuse and to charm. Also



FIG. 8.—*SURROUNDED PORTRAIT OF ASPASIA IN THE VATICAN.*

there is about the head a certain innocence and simplicity. Some of this may be due to the style of sculpture.

I must not, however, pass by in silence a head extant and published, which has some claim to be regarded as a portrait of Aspasia, and which differs notably from the Ashmolean statue (Fig. 8). It is a herm surmounted

26 A FEMALE FIGURE IN THE EARLY STYLE OF PHEIDIAS

by a bust of a woman, the back of whose head is covered by a veil, and whose hair is arranged in wave-like tresses like a melon running from the forehead to the back parallel to one another.^{**} On the base of this herm is inscribed in letters, not cut with a chisel but merely scratched, ΑΣΠΑΣΙΑ. This inscription has been discussed by several writers, and presents a difficult problem. On the one hand the inscription seems to have already been on the herm when it was discovered near Civitavecchia. On the other hand the letters are suspicious in form, and not put in the ordinary place. But all the writers are agreed that it is very difficult to believe that we can really have Aspasia in this woman, of most common-place type, and wearing the veil, the mark of the Athenian matron. I think that the inscription is not trustworthy, though without seeing it I cannot decide when it was cut. It would take a great deal of evidence to persuade us that Aspasia could have been represented as an ordinary matron. This head cannot in any case claim to represent a contemporary portrait, as the fashion of hair does not occur in Greek sculpture before the time of Praxiteles. If, therefore, it was intended for Aspasia, it may be a mere fancy portrait of later time.

With our Ashmolean portrait we naturally compare the only portrait by a contemporary of Phidias which has come down to us (only this: in Roman copies), the herm surmounted by a portrait of Pericles, a copy of a work of Cresilas of Cydonia. In our copies much of the character is lost. But enough remains to show us how artists of the great Periclean group conceived a portrait. They did not try accurately to copy details of less importance. The hair and beard they treated almost in a conventional way. Nor did they lay emphasis on the time of life; we only feel that Pericles was at the zenith of his powers. But the portrait impresses on us the calm and dignity of the statesman, with something in the face, especially the upper lip, which belonged to the actual man. Such a generic and idealized portrait I think we have in the Ashmolean statue.

Let me sum up, proceeding from the more to the less certain. We may confidently assign our statue to the middle of the fifth century, to Athens and to the school of Phidias. That it represents a woman in the guise of a deity or a heroine is also fairly certain. Of which woman it is a portrait is of course not so clear. But no one seems so suitable as Aspasia: we may fairly accept this identification until a better is suggested.

PERCY GARDNER.

^{**} See Bernoulli, *Griech. Denkm.* p. 113. It is in the Sala delle Muse in the Vatican.

SEVEN VASES FROM THE HOPE COLLECTION.¹

[PLATE IV.]

It is by publication that a private collection can best apologise for its existence, and for the following vases which passed from the Hope Collection to mine this apology is due:—

B.-F. *Lekythos* (Figs. 1, 2). Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Theseus und Troischen Heldenkreis*, Pl. XIX, 7, p. 455; Raoul Rochette, *Mém. In.* xviii, 2; Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 19. Ht. 312 m. The body is wide in order to accommodate the subject, the neck short, the foot low and spreading. The back of the vase has been restored. Below the neck are rays, on the shoulder palmettes, above the design a pattern of dots between lines, below a line and a broad band of black edged with purple.

The subject represented is Achilles dragging the body of Hektor round Patroklos' tomb. The chariot, drawn by four horses galloping to the right, is driven by a bearded and helioeted warrior in a leather jacket. To the chariot is bound the body of Hektor, bearded, with eyes closed. The *eidolon* of Patroklos flies in the same direction, winged, armed, and with a single spear. Beyond the chariot is an armed warrior running, and another is trampled beneath the horses' feet. The background is filled by the white grave mound of Patroklos on the left, by conventional vine sprays on the right.

Illustrations of this scene have been collected and discussed by various writers,² most exhaustively by Schneider.³ Two main types are recognised: in the first the chariot is in motion and an armed warrior runs beside it; in the second it is at rest and Achilles stands behind it, bending to contemplate his dead enemy. The problems of Type I. are the invariable presence of the running warrior, and the long white chiton frequently worn by the driver; they have induced all authorities with the exception of Overbeck to interpret the former as Achilles and the latter as Automedon. This interpretation involves fresh difficulties; firstly, that on the *lekythos* formerly in the

¹ I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Beazley for various kind suggestions, and to Miss Hutton for criticisms and corrections.

² The references are given in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. vii, p. 2317.

³ *Von Saguntum*, p. 25.

Cabinet Durand¹ the armed warrior beside the chariot is duplicated by a second warrior, who stands next to the chariotier; secondly, that on the amphora Berlin, No. 1867,² he runs in the direction contrary to the chariot. These difficulties are considered to be due to misunderstanding of the type.



FIG. 1.—LEKYTHOS, A.

The more natural view is to regard Achilles himself as the driver. This would account for both the Durand lekythos and the Berlin amphora; it is supported by the fact that in the earliest representation of the scene, on a

¹ B. Roche, *Mém. Ins.* xviii, 1.

² Gerhard, *A. P.* exxlii.

fragment from Klazomenae,⁶ the driver can be none other than Achilles. The white chiton, the running warrior, are easily accounted for by confusion with other types; an examination of the various combat scenes where chariots occur⁷ shows that it was almost *de rigueur* to put a running figure



FIG. 2.—H. P. LEKYTHOS, A.

beside the team, while the popularity of racing chariot scenes would account for the hero adopting a charioteer's dress. It is to be remarked that a large proportion of these combat and racing scenes come from the necks of

⁶ Zahn, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxviii, Pl. VI.

⁷ E.g. B.M. Vases II 264, 317, 321, etc.

amphorae and hydriæ; oddly enough, the above-mentioned fragment from Klazomenai, as has been pretty conclusively shewn, comes likewise from the shoulder of a hydria. It may be fanciful to press this point too far, but it seems possible that in Attic vases also the scene may have occupied that place, to which indeed it is very suitable; and that there the confusion of types may have been effected.

When used for the main picture of a vase, Type I. presented a difficulty which was perhaps responsible for the evolution of Type II. The body behind the chariot complicated the picture by lengthening the space to be filled. Various solutions were attempted: in the Hope lekythos it is relegated to the unoccupied field at the back of his vase; in the lekythos Naples, 2746,⁸ the space round it is filled with radiating sprays; in the amphora, Berlin, 1867,⁹ it is simply omitted. By this time the type had become so common that it had almost lost its meaning; and the production is a senseless compromise between it and the racing type.

Meanwhile the creator of the original of the Durand lekythos had thought of filling the space behind the body by the white grave mound, which previously had been placed beyond the chariot, and a painter with still more ingenuity and some dramatic instinct created Schneider's Type II. His great contribution was that, in shifting the centre of interest from the chariot to the space behind it, the difficulties of composition have been more than solved.

The vases illustrating this incident do not, therefore, reflect a common original, but are a series of experiments in the best way of fitting a given subject into a given space.

B.-F. Lekythos on a chariot ground. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 32. Height, 385 m. Foot in one degree. On the shoulder, palmettes on red ground; above the design, meander. Accessories purple.

Harnessing of a quadriga: the chariot stands to r. with two of the horses already harnessed; on the l. a man in a himation, whip in hand, leads up a trace horse. Another man, dressed in a white chiton, stands at the far side of the chariot; a third, wearing a himation, stands at the horses' heads. The owner is in the act of mounting. All four men are bearded and wear wreaths. The group is a common one, forming part of the B.-F. painter's stock-in-trade: the relative positions of the figures remain much the same in the various examples, while they themselves appear in various guises.¹⁰

R.-F. Kötyle. Pl. IV. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 63: The height is 483 m., the diameter 15 m. One handle is vertical, the other, probably horizontal, has been broken off and the lip restored without it.

On the one side (*A*) is a dancing satyr, his left hand extended, his right on his hip, the head being in profile to l., while the shoulders are full-face.

⁸ R. Rochette, *Mém. In. xvii.*, Overbeck,
Die Bildwerke aus Thieben und Trouchen-
Heldenkreis, xii. 6.

⁹ Gerhard, *op. cit. exxlii.*
¹⁰ Cf. B.M. Vases B 203-5, etc.

On the other (*B*) is a satyr bending his right hand stretched towards a *thyton* on the ground, his body being in three-quarter position.

Relief lines are used for the collar-bone, breast, nipples, hip, ankles, toes, and fingers; occasionally on the outline, chiefly when bordering a somewhat enclosed space, but nowhere on the profile. A reserved line surrounds the hair. Interior markings are in faint brown; of special interest are the two short lines beneath the collar-bone, where it joins the median breast-line, and the two parallel to each other below the knees on *A*.

With regard to the heads: the profile on *A* is drawn with square lines similar to those of 'Styon' and 'Hydris' on the Brygos kylix, B.M. E 65. The head on *B* almost gives the impression of a three-quarter position, recalling such deviations from the true profile as occur in the case of the satyr with the double flutes and the satyr with the lyre on the kylix in the Cabinet des Médailles.¹¹ It is a pity that vase painters did not achieve their three-quarter effects by drawing a head such as this turned a degree more towards the front, instead of drawing a frontal head turned towards the side, as they usually did (e.g. the Centaromachy Psykter in the Villa Giulia¹²). At any rate, they were wise enough to experiment chiefly with beings who had irregular features to begin with, such as centaurs and sileni.

The evidence of style generally points to the Brygos painter. The vase may therefore be added to the series of satyr-vases already attributed to his hand, a series of which kotylai have been represented hitherto only by the example from Rhitsona published in *B.S.A.* xiv.¹³ The two kotylai are closely related, being of the same shape, and both decorated with a pair of figures, one at each side; in size that from Rhitsona is slightly the larger, and in style the more mannered of the two.

R.-F. Kotyle (Figs. 3, 4). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height, 08 in. Diameter, '15 in. Two handles, one vertical, one horizontal.

On *A*, an Eros flying to r., with a floral ornament in the field before him.

On *B*, an athlete with his right hand stretched out over a square altar, and behind him a pillar.

Relief lines are used for the outline, but not for the pupil of the eye; for the contours of the figure, except at the ends of the wings, and for such markings as the hip (which on *A* is a simple curve, convex to the body). A wash of thinned varnish covers the upper part of the wings. No trace of brown interior markings is visible.¹⁴

The custom of athletes taking an oath before entering the games is attested by Pausanias' description of the oath at Olympia. That it was widespread is shown by numerous vase paintings, on a large proportion of which the oath is taken with hand uplifted, not, as here, extended.¹⁵ The

¹¹ Hartwig, *Mäisterschäften*, Pl. XXXII.

¹² Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. XV.

¹³ Hartwig, *op. cit.* p. 309-318, Pl. XXXII, XXXIII. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 392, Pl. XIV.

¹⁴ The marks which appear in Fig. 3, e.g. on the arm, are incised sketch lines.

¹⁵ E.g. B.M. Vases E 114, and cf. note to E 63.

former practice seems common to many peoples upon oath-taking, the raising of the hand being the natural gesture of one compelling attention either of



FIG. 3 AND 4.—R.F. KÖRTE, *A* AND *B*.

god or man. The extended hand is natural when the presence of a sacred object is involved, as here the altar.³⁷

³⁷ Cf. the oath of an ephobe in *Athen. d. I.* 180B, Pl. 1.

R. F. Column Krater (Figs. 5, 6). Tischbein i. Pl. XIV. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 53. Height, 315 m. From Capua.

Round the lip is a frieze of bears and lions confronted, in silhouette. On the neck, side A, are linked lotus buds. The designs are framed with tongue pattern above, ivy wreath to the sides.



FIG. 5.—R. F. COLUMN KRATER, &c.

On the obverse is the popular scene of a woman giving a drink to a young soldier. He wears the uniform of an *ephebos*: petasos, chlamys, boots, and carries two spears in his right hand. The woman's dress consists of a himation and a spotted Ionic chiton.¹² Behind her is a bearded man,

¹² The drawing of this detail is borrowed in Tischbein's plate. He calls the scene an illustration of *Odyssey*, iv. 219, which is, of course, fanciful. In Fig. 2 the lines have been thickened through reproduction.

leaning on a stick, behind the youth a woman in chiton, himation, and sakkos.

On the reverse are three draped athletes conversing

The style is that of the Polygnotan circle.



FIG. 6.—K. F. GÖLDFIS KRAETER, R.

Kylix (Fig. 7). Hopo Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height, 95 m. Diameter, 16 m. With low foot and interior design only. Shape as in *El. Cer.* Pl. D. 101.

Youth with *akroterion*. On the pillar are two faint brown streaks, which do not appear in the photograph. It is uncertain what they represent; possibly a fillet. There are also brown markings on the body. The kylix E 114 in the British Museum¹⁹ is very similar in style.

¹⁹ Mr. Beazley informs me that the following appears to be by the same hand: a kylix in the Lansburgh Schenck collection,

No. 424. Illustrated Catalogue, Pl. XLIV.; this has a mark on the pillar resembling the one noted above.



FIG. 7.—H. F. KYLIX.



FIG. 8.—H. F. KYLIX.

Kylix (Fig. 8); Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height and shape as above.

Youth with strigil. The position of the body may be reminiscent of a statue; that of the head, though common on vases, would not be used for a statue at so early a date. Altogether, the rather *post*-young athlete, leaning on a pillar and gazing at the stars, foreshadows the daintiness and sentimentality of a later period.

WILHELM LAMK

GREEK LION MONUMENTS.

THERE is in the British Museum a colossal marble lion which was found near Cnidos by Sir Charles Newton (*Cat. of Sculpt.* ii. p. 214, No. 1350). It is recumbent and sculptured out of one block, the underside being hollowed out to diminish the weight. Its length is 9 feet 7 inches. (Fig. 1.) In the *Guide to Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1908) the sculpture is thus described and discussed:—

‘A colossal lion which was found lying overturned on a lofty promontory about three miles to the east of Cnidos. On the site where it was lying were the remains of a great tomb, which consisted of a square basement surrounded by engaged columns of the Doric order and surmounted by a



FIG. 1.—LION OF CNIDOS.

pyramid. It was evident from the position in which the lion was found that it had once surmounted the pyramid, whence it had been thrown down, probably by an earthquake. The position of the monument on a promontory was thought by Sir C. Newton to indicate that it was connected with a naval victory, and he suggested a victory gained off Cnidos by the Athenian admiral Conon over the Lacedaemonians in 394 B.C., as that commemorated. It is evident, however, that both suggestions are very conjectural. The style of sculpture in this lion is large and simple and well suited for its original position on a monument forty feet high overlooking a headland with a sheer

depth of 200 feet and with a wild rocky landscape round it. The eyes, now wanting, were probably of glass or perhaps of precious stones; Pliny (*N.H.* xxx. 6) tells of a marble lion on the tomb of a prince of Cyprus, with emerald eyes so bright that the fish were terrified until the stones were changed.'

Notwithstanding the scepticism expressed here as to the origin of the monument, the theory is widely accepted. Although there is always a step from the best hypothesis to a proof, it is a pity, especially in popular hand-books, to give doubt too great prominence. Collignon in his account of the monument writes thus. 'Already in the archaic epoch the type of the lion was adopted for the decoration of tombs. That of Menekrates at Corfu is an instance (Fig. 104, vol. i.). They were also frequent on Attic steles. It is most natural that the type should be selected in preference to any other for those *polyandrionia* where the State gave common sepulture to the soldiers who had died before the enemy. Without doubt we possess, thanks to Newton's discovery at Cnidus, the crowning sculpture from such a public tomb. According to a likely hypothesis it had rested on a polyandrion raised in honour of the Athenians killed in 394. Perhaps the lion taken from the Timpes by the Venetians and placed at their Arsenal had been erected in Attica as a memorial of the same action. The Lion of Cnidus is the most beautiful of such lions, but that of Chaeronea must also be mentioned. No inscription was engraved on the former, says Pausanias, but all would comprehend the eloquence of such a symbol.'

Sir C. Newton was not so sure that eyeballs had been inserted in the lion's head. 'I should mention (he says) that he has no eyeballs, only deeply cut sockets, of which the solemn chiaroscuro, contrasting with the broad sunlight around, produces the effect of real eyes &c; completely as to suggest the notion that the artist, here as in so many instances in ancient sculpture, preferred representation by equivalents to the more direct imitation of nature. But on the other hand we have abundant evidence to show that coloured eyes composed of vitreous pastes were sometimes combined with marble in ancient statuary. There is a curious anecdote in Pliny of a lion with emerald eyes which surmounted the tomb of a certain petty prince in Cyprus. . . The contemplation of the Chidian lion in the bright and delicate atmosphere for which he was originally designed, taught me much as to the causes why modern artists fail so generally when they attempt public monuments on a colossal scale. . . When I stood very near the lion many things in the treatment seemed harsh and singular; but on retiring to the distance of about thirty yards, all that seemed exaggerated blended into one harmonious whole, which lit up by an Asiatic sun, exhibited a breadth of light and shade such as I have never seen in sculpture; nor was the effect of this colossal production of human genius at all impaired by the bold forms and desolate grandeur of the surrounding landscape. The lion seemed made for the scenery and the scenery for the lion. The genial climate in which the Greek artists lived must have

enabled them to finish their colossal sculptures in the open air, and on the very site for which they were designed; hence the perfect harmony between man's work and nature, which is no characteristic of Greek art in its best time.'

This seems excessive praise of a work which is not seen to advantage in the Museum: it might be worth while some day to repeat the lion out of stone and lifted high above the ground. The cost would not be great in stone and it might be contracted for by ordinary monumental masons, who can do pointed work with fair accuracy.

This lion seems much larger than the dimension given above suggests, and its size may serve as a standard for imagining the scale of the other lions to be described further on. I doubt if the eye sockets were ever filled; the deep sharp darks are wonderfully effective in a photograph and the forms do not look as if eyeballs had been fitted in.

The architect G. L. Taylor, travelling in 1818 with Edward Cross (with whom he afterwards produced a well known book on Rome), John Sanders (once a pupil of Soane), and William Purser (a painter), made an excursion to Chaeronea and discovered some fragments which they suspected to be parts of the famous Theban lion mentioned by Pausanias to have been placed over the tomb of those heroes who fell here opposing Philip,¹ (B.C. 338). 'My horse (says Taylor) made a stumble over a stone and on looking back I was struck with the appearance of sculpture... We engaged some peasants and did not leave the spot until we had dug up the colossal head of the lion and some of his limbs... From the nose to the top of the head it measured four feet six inches... A part of one of the hind [front] legs two feet two inches. Arranging these masses we decided that the attitude had resembled the one on Northumberland House... We carefully buried the masses and left them.'² Taylor illustrates his account with a copy of the restoration made by Siegel in 1856,³ which shows the lion crouching on its hind quarters on a tall pedestal.

In the Spiers collection recently given to the Victoria and Albert Museum is Taylor's note book, used on this tour, containing his sketch of the head and fragment of the leg. With these is a note copied out of some other book, possibly the diary of one of his companions. 'Wednesday, 2nd June, 1818. Made an excursion to Chaeronea, distant two hours from Lebedia. Our first discovery was the fragment of the famed Theban lion about a quarter of a mile before we entered the town; it had lain close by the side of the road and exhibited only a part of the right cheek and a little of the mane; we dug round and found the head complete and a leg of enormous dimensions (see sketches, etc.). The execution is bold, the marble very white and remarkable for its fine grain (see Pausanias). Fig. 2 is taken from one of these sketches.'

¹ *Bibliography of an Architect*, 1870. The attitude suggested was squatting.

² For this and other references see R.M. Catalogue of Sculpture III, No. 230, p. 43.

The fragments thus reburied by Taylor must soon have been exposed again, and Wolfe, another English architect, who was travelling in Greece in 1820, examined them carefully so that he was able to make a correct restoration of the pose in a little sketch now in the Library of the Royal Institute of Architects. A second sketch shows the head with the teeth perfect but only cavities for the eyes. Others show mouldings from the pedestal agreeing with Stegel's restoration.



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF LION
OF CHIÆRONES FROM
TAYLOR'S SKETCH BOOK.

Fragments of lion at Kaprena. The expression of the face of the lion by no means noble, the mouth too wide; not so good a face as that of the Parthenon. Nothing mannered about the head except the eyes, which do not appear at all natural—the eyeballs are sunk out. The muscles and bones like that of the Parthenon except that on the latter there is a greater sinking at the temples. The mane easy and flowing; not scarcely visible. The attitude was evidently that of sitting or squatting on the haunches. The head was in a single piece dished out in the inside to lighten the weight as are the other pieces forming the body. The mouldings of the pedestal do not appear in Fig. 3. The eyes are eighteen inches from centre to centre, and from the sketch it appears that a large circle is sunk in each eyeball almost filling its surface. A description of Chiærones with its towered walls and small theatre follows. Ægina, Epidaurus, Argos, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Némou, and Cleonae are also described.

Wolfe must thus be credited with the correct restoration of the monument. This lion is of special importance to us in comparison with the great lion of Chios, the head of which is superior and the style of the hair less flowing and advanced. The Cnidian lion might well be fifty years earlier than the other, and like it, it was doubtless a war-memorial.

I take from Baedeker's *Greece* the following details of the more recent history of the lion of Chiærones. Excavations carried on since 1879 revealed that the lion stood on the edge of a quadrangular enclosure within which the bones of the slain Thebans were deposited. In the course of centuries the monument sank almost into the earth, but it was broken to pieces only in the last War of Independence. In 1902 the ground was properly excavated with the result that traces were found of a vast pyre mingled with bones, the fragments of the lion, nearly all of which existed, were also pieced together and the whole was re-erected on a pedestal about 10 feet high, the lion itself being 12½ feet high. The lion as re-erected is shown in Fig. 3.

from a print lent to me by Mr. Arthur Smith. The pedestal seems to be restored without authority.



FIG. 3.—LION OF CHAERONEA.

In an excellent book on Persia published in 1906 by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University, a description of a colossal lion is given with two photographic illustrations.² This lion, which lies outside the city of Hamadan, is so strikingly like the lion of Chaeronea that it

is very probable that they were executed for similar purposes at about the same date. There cannot be a doubt that this great fragment is a fine Hellenistic sculpture of much the same class as the two lions already described. The front legs are broken away and it rests now in a lying attitude partly buried in the ground. However, the attachments of the front legs show that it sat up. Prof. Williams Jackson describes it thus: 'The famous but battered stone lion, the only monument that has lasted through the long ages of Hamadan, now lies near the foot of the Masallah, not far from the road leading to Isfahan. It is one of the landmarks of Hamadan, and is regarded as a guardian genius of the town. Even a thousand years ago it was spoken of by Masudi^{*} as very ancient, and he describes it as standing by the Lion Gate on a low hill overlooking the road to Rei and Khorasan. He speaks of its lifelike appearance and compares it to some great bull or crouching camel, adding that it was carved after Alexander's return from Khorasan (as native tradition ascribes the founding of Hamadan to Alexander) and set up as a talisman to protect the walls of the city . . . The overthrow of the lion was accomplished, he tells us, about his own time . . . A legend almost as old, recorded by Yakut (about 1220) says the image was set up by Belinus as a talisman (Belinus is commonly explained as a corrupt Oriental form for Plinius, Pliny). Popular belief has certainly surrounded the sculptured stone with a deep veneration. . . . The lion is rather effective in the distance, as the mutilation of the stone does not then show, and I was impressed by the life-like appearance of the image as I first rode towards it, an effect which is enhanced by the yellowish sandstone out of which the figure is carved. The head is massive and the heavy waves of the mane are realistic in appearance, but it is difficult to catch the exact expression of the face in its present prone position, although the chin is well marked and the jaws are partly open . . . Although the legs of the creature are broken off at the shoulders and thighs the body is entire. A careful examination of the sculpture shows that the lion originally sat in an upright posture with the forelegs straight and without any curve from the shoulders except the natural rounding of the haunches. In other words it was a lion *sejant* not *couchant*. The right hip is lower than the left, and the tail, though missing, curved round the left flank, as is shown by a perceptible groove in the stone at that point. From head to tail the image measures between eleven and twelve feet (3.40 m.), the head itself being nearly forty inches in diameter (1 m.). The present position of the lion, about an eighth of a mile from the foot of the Musallah, and facing south, is probably due to chance. Both Masudi and Yakut speak of the sculpture as being near a gate of the city, and judging from a modern mud tower which guards the road at this point, it is possible that there once was a gate near by, or that the lion possibly guarded an entrance to the citadel at this spot. Concerning the age of the statue, we can only make

guesses, reckoning back from the time when Masandi spoke of it a thousand years ago. On the whole I agree with those who attribute a great antiquity to the sculpture, assigning it even to the times of the ancient Median Kingdom, when it may have anticipated the lion of the royal Persian emblem?

The whole type of the beast is not Median but Alexandrine, and this lion may very well be an important memorial of Alexander himself. Prof. Jackson has no doubt that Hamadan is the ancient Ecbatana—I have spoken of Alexander the Great in connection with Hamadan, and we know from history that he twice visited this ancient capital of Media, once when pursuing the vanquished Darius Codomannus, and afterwards when returning from Bactria and India. His name is still well known among the people as Iskandar, and various legends about him are preserved to the present



FIG. 4.—*Lion of Hamadan.*
(The line *AB* is that of the present ground level.)

time. The identification of Ecbatana is generally accepted, and I see in the Lion of Hamadan a memorial to be associated with Alexander himself. Fig. 4 gives a rough restoration.

There is a grace in the setting on of the head, and the curve of the back, as shown in the photograph, which mark out the sculpture as a fine Hellenistic work. The head closely resembles the heads of the lions of the Mausoleum, who are clearly related beasts. Apparently the eye sockets are empty. Prof. Jackson's description of 'the heavy waves of the mane, realistic in appearance,' agrees closely with Wolfe's phrase about the lion of Chaeronea—'the mane easy and flowing.' The pose must have been very like that of the Lion of Chaeronea, the 'life-like appearance, well marked chin and jaws partly open, the tail curving round the left flank,' and the

scale, are closely alike in both cases, and it may hardly be doubted that both were monuments of the same type and age. The pose is repeated in many other works.¹ Later the lions of Donatello and Alfred Stevens descended from the same stock (probably through the Greek lion at Venise) and the latter would make a noble monument twenty or thirty feet high.

W. R. LEATHAY.

¹ Cf. the lion-statue in the British Museum (*Cat. of Sculpt.* No. 2127). On a late coin of Corinth a lion in a similar attitude appears which is supposed to represent a lion-tam, and it has been thought that the Veios Lion may have been a fountain in the mouth of which it played. The monument of Laus, which is

also represented on a coin of Corinth, may also be mentioned (*Indroed-Blümner, Nomoi, Chora*, Pl. E lxxiv). Mr. Arthur Smith informs me that there are remains of a lion monument at Amphipolis, which tradition associates with the monument of Brasidas.

LYCIAN AND PHRYGIAN NAMES.

According to a theory which has been very commonly accepted by archaeologists in this country, the local names of Greece prove that a single language was once spoken there and in Asia Minor which was totally different from Greek, Thracian, Illyrian, or Phrygian. It was neither Aryan nor Semitic, and resembled that of the Lycian inscriptions. At a later date, whether before or after the arrival of the Greeks, certain Thracian and Illyrian elements were added, but they contributed little to the sum of geographical names.¹

This belief is founded on the occurrence in Greece of local terminations in -στ-, and especially in -σθ-, which are considered to be foreign, and on their identification with the suffixes -σσ- and -ρο-, which are well known in Lyca, as well as in other districts of Asia Minor, and are derived from the native Lycian language.² It is supported by the collection of a long list of geographical names from the islands and the mainland of Greece which are not recognisably of Greek origin and show resemblances so close and numerous that they can hardly be accidental, to names of places in Asia Minor.

The case as stated by Pauli, Kretschmer, and Fick has a very convincing appearance. But the facts on which it is based seem to be in general inconclusive and in part erroneous. In the case of -σσ-, the doubling of the σ, which is the most important point in common between the suffixes found in Greece and Asia Minor, is not present in the original Lycian.³ On the other hand, the same suffix occurs in several European countries; as in

¹ See especially Kretschmer, *Einführung*, etc., there cited as Kretschmer; Fick, *Vergriechische Ortsnamen* (laid aside by Fick) and *Hattäer und Danubier*, etc.; and Pauli, *Alldeutsche Formänderungen*, vol. II, parts I and II, *Eine Vergriechische Inschrift*, etc. (laid aside by Pauli, II, 1 or 2). Vol. III of the same work, *Die Feester*, etc., is cited as Pauli, III. Names from Asia Minor quoted without a reference will be found in the index to Bonwürtz, *Die sogenannten Namen der lycischen und ionischen Thuren* in Tondorf'sch. *Der alte Thuder*, II, 2 (other geographical names without reference are to be found in Pauly-Wissowa).

² If Lycian were an Indo-European lan-

guage, related to the Phrygian, there would be no need to go to Asia Minor for the origin of any of these suffixes. The argument must proceed on the assumption that it is not. The differences are in fact, in my opinion, fundamental and irreconcileable. The resemblances hitherto verified are not beyond the range of coincidence. But Professor Kalinits's belief (*T.A.M.* I, p. 10) that it is a mixed language may prove to be correct. It is probable at least that the vocabulary has been deeply affected by one or more Indo-European languages, and the same may be the case with the grammar to some extent.

³ See below, p. 38.

Thrace, where it is common;⁴ in Illyria, as Ὀρφεός, and the Illyrian region of Italy, as Τολυεός. In the last instance, at least, the double *s* is native, as the Messapian inscriptions show.⁵ In the case of -ιθ- the Greek suffix is not identical with the Asiatic, and if, as Krotzschmar supposes,⁶ the Lycian -ιθ- represents an earlier *nt*, no sufficient reason is given why the Greeks should have regularly altered this *nt*, which was a common suffix in their own tongue, into a -ιθ- which was *ex hypothesi* foreign to it. But in Illyria the actual suffix -ιθ- is found in local names, and is formed in accordance with known laws of the language.⁷ It is also found not uncommonly in Thrace.⁸ Moreover, at least one of the Greek names in -ιθ-, Mount Βερύνεός in Crete,⁹ is unquestionably derived from the Phrygian, a dialect which was closely connected with the Thracian on one side and the Illyrian on the other.¹⁰ The object of this article is not however to discuss the forms which appear in Greece, but the argument based on their resemblance to names found in Asia Minor.

The fact that the same stems occur in both countries is in itself of no value as evidence that a language of the Lycian type was ever spoken in Greece. For it is not disputed that Asia Minor was inhabited by two distinct races, one (allied to the Lycians) of native descent, the other (allied to the Phrygians) of European origin.¹¹ Unless the names quoted can be proved to belong to the older population, their evidence may tell indifferently on either side. But it is almost always extremely difficult, and very often quite

⁴ Krotzschmar, p. 405, only mentions five instances, but he might have added at least ten more.

⁵ S., like other consonants, is doubled before *t*, which itself disappears, as witness for **tritakta*, etc.

⁶ P. 286. It is certain that *nt* is always written in Lycian with a *t*, and that the *n* would almost always drop out of a *t* preceded by a vowel. That *nt* in this particular suffix occurs is one point, but it is highly probable.

As in Cognathus, Agathus and Agathos, in the Illyrian region of South Italy, which regularly represent names with the common Illyrian suffix -*nt* (also *ntos*, *ntom*, etc.). In Messapian *t* before *i* turns to *θ*, and the *t* is usually dropped. The word *ntos* occurs in Messapian.

⁷ See Krotzschmar, p. 402.

⁸ This name Θεργυπός v. 64, which is omitted by Pauli and Krotzschmar, is certainly connected with that of the Thracian tribe of the Thergyptes. The existence of a *Thergerpeton* here in Phrygia is denied by Pauli-Wissowa (i.e. Herkynia), but without any cogent or discreditable reason.

⁹ See Conway, R.S.A. viii. p. 154, who himself has overlooked the name Βερύνεός.

which would have considerably helped his argument. His contention that the language of the Boeotian inscriptions is Indo-European and allied to the Verdic-Illyrian is highly probable. It seems to me to have no kind of resemblance to Lycian. It will be seen that I accept his conclusions in general in respect of local names in Greece, though on grounds which are only partly the same as his.

¹⁰ The question has not been simplified by the discovery, by American excavations, of Lydian inscriptions written in a language strikingly unlike either Lycian or Phrygian. The greater part of the proper names contained both in these and in the Greek inscriptions of the country seem to be Phrygian, and probably belong to the Maeonians, who preceded the Lydians. A few are akin to the Lycian, and may be assigned to a yet older population. The true Lydians seem to have been a race of comparatively late intruders, after the time of Homer. If so, the common worship, in which was based the belief in their blood-brotherhood with the Carians and Myrmidons, was taken over from the Maeonians as part of their title to the soil. See below, p. 52.

impossible, to decide to which stratum any particular local name belongs. The structure, in the case of towns, is generally the same in both languages. They are usually derived from a personal name followed by a suffix, and most of these suffixes are of an ordinary type, which is found in various countries.¹² Some of them are certainly common to the two groups. Even the *-os-*, which is rightly considered not to be Phrygian but distinctively Lycian, is sometimes attached to a Phrygian stem: as in *Bazareā*,¹³ a town in the Ormelian district, which is evidently derived from the Paphlagonian proper name *Bazas*, and connected with the Phrygian *Zens Bazawē*.¹⁴ As for *-os-*, there are, as will be seen, stronger reasons for supposing it native to Phrygia than to Lycia.¹⁵ On the other hand, *-eōs*, *-eia*, as in *Papētos*, *Naxōeia*, etc. (as well as *-os* and *-as*, etc.), are peculiarly Phrygian,¹⁶ but *Molōvēta* is claimed (though I believe erroneously) as genuinely Lycian.¹⁷

The affinities of local names in Asia Minor cannot necessarily be inferred from their geographical position any more than from their structure. For though a comparison both of them, and of personal names, shows convincingly enough that a language allied to the Lycian was once spoken over the whole of the southern and western part of the peninsula, it does not prove that no other language was ever spoken there. On the contrary, there appear to be indications of subsequent occupation or penetration by Phrygians or kindred tribes in every country of Asia Minor west of the Halys, except in the small district of Lycia proper.¹⁸

The limits of the Lycian people and their language in the fourth century A.C., shortly before the hellenisation of the country, are proved by the area within which the native inscriptions are found. This coincides very exactly with the national frontiers as defined by Greek authors except towards the east, where the boundaries are rather vague. There can, however, be little doubt that Strabo is following an older authority in those passages in which

¹² In Lycia the commonest suffixes, and *-os*, *-os-* are *-as*, *-as-*, *-as-*, *-as-*, *-as-*. These all have parallels in Phrygia, as in *Sironto*, *Märkhe*, *Ayyma*, *Alemany*, *Alasse*. They are also to be found in Thrace and Illyria, and other European countries. By no means all such words are formed from proper names in the manner usual in Asia Minor, but there is no general test by which they can be distinguished from the Lycian.

¹³ Probably for *Bazara*, with the Phrygian *-os-*, as in *Yazara*, *Fazara*, *Gazara*, *Hazara*, *Tazara*. The Lycian, Chilian, and Pisidian change of *o* to *e* spread to the Greek dialect of Pamphylia (Kretschmer, p. 200), and may easily have affected the form of the original Phrygian terms in this mixed region (see Ramsey, *Ortes and Bishoprics*, 1, p. 269). *Kazanlos-Kazaynos* in Cari (Kretschmer, p. 201) may be explained in the same way.

¹⁴ See below, p. 18.

¹⁵ See p. 22.

¹⁶ Kretschmer, pp. 183 and 191. Mostly they represent *-as-*.

¹⁷ See below, p. 16, note 18.

¹⁸ It is necessary to observe that the name Lycia is used both by Kretschmer and Sandwell in a very wide sense, so as to include districts which were not Lycian until Roman or even Byzantine times. Therefore many names will be found in their works which appear to be exceptions to general statements made in this article. It is impossible in every case to enter into explanations, but on verifying the references it will, I believe, be found that such discrepancies are due to this difference of definition. A good many names are quoted in Sandwell's book from unpublished inscriptions simply as Lycian without mention of the place of discovery. Such names are quite as likely as not to come from places outside Lycia in the sense in which the word is here used.

he describes the Chelidonian islands as the beginning of Pamphylia.²⁰ Beyond this point no Lycaean inscriptions or tombs are found, and the name of Olympia cannot be Lycaean.²¹ Westward of this frontier, Lycaea runs in a narrow semi-circular strip, only from twelve to twenty miles wide, between the sea and the mountains which bound the tablelands of inner Asia Minor. The high uplands thus surrounded belonged to Milyas, which was ethnically as well as geographically an extension of the Phrygian plateau; and was only politically united to Lycaea by the Persian government.²² It included Nisa (Ptolemy v. 3), and even Arycanda (Pliny v. 27), on the south side of the main chain. Here again archaeological evidence confirms that of the geographers, and leads to the further conclusion that Acalissus, Isdeessa, and Corium lay outside the boundaries of Lycaea when it was a distinct native state. Even of the Xanthus valley only the lower part was included, from the point where the river breaks through the mountains about eighteen miles from the nearest coast. North of this lay Cabalia, which had no connection with Lycaea until Roman times.²³ On the west, the Carian frontier lay only a few miles beyond Telmessus.²⁴

Within the district thus defined the Lycaean language is known to have been directly superseded by Greek without any considerable change of population. Therefore, though Greek and afterwards Latin names were commonly adopted, a large proportion of native names survived. These were sometimes completely and occasionally imperfectly hellenised, but in general they were transliterated as faithfully as the Greek alphabet allowed.²⁵ For

²⁰ Strabo, p. 520 (probably from Eratosthenes), and p. 631. See Kaliske's remarks, *Jahrbüch.*, viii. Boedeker, p. 42.

²¹ In Lycaean see always *Strab.* to 28. Kynastone (pp. 301) takes the word rightly in my opinion to be Phrygian.

²² *Tiranum subiace Milyae* (Pliny, v. 27) means we doubt that they were Phrygians. Herodotus called them *Georgophyeni*, sc. 108. The words of Arrian about Milyas, § 102 per *tau ποταπες ορεικαις η οι ανδανεισισις τη βασιλεια παντας επιγραφας*, i. 24, mean that it was geographically and probably racially part of Phrygia, and that in his own day it was administratively joined to it instead of Lycaea, for that was not the case Alexander entered Milyas from the Xanthus valley, no doubt over the main pass north of Ak Daghi, and went on to Phaselis. This confirms Ptolemy's account of the Lycaean part of Milyas (v. 3), which Sir W. Hanway unhesitatingly doubts (*Classical Review*, i. 217). The country extended also far to the north (ibid. i), and included the country of the *Oxybates* (ibid. p. 250), but it was all counted as part of Phrygia in the time of Alexander, who is described as leaving Pessala and entering Phrygia near the Ascanian (i.e. the Phrygian lake, (Arrian, i. 20). The country of

the *Oxybates*, which was certainly in Milyas, proved to be Phrygian by the proper names found there (see p. 60), and is probably the Cilician plain of which the population was a mixture of Phrygian with a certain amount of Cilician. Strabo, p. 629. See Ramsay, *Cilicia and Rhodes*, i. p. 278.

²³ The Cabalian towns of Babon, Belluna, and Oemunna were only taken from Cappadocia, and added to Lycaea by Mithridates about B.C. 80. Four languages were spoken in this district (Strabo, p. 631) but Lycaean was not one. In philological discussions Cabalian nations should not be quoted as Lycaean, as is commonly done.

²⁴ *J.H.K.* xv, p. 97.

²⁵ This is less true of local than of personal names, which, no doubt, were put into Greek letters originally by the bearers of them, in most cases. Names of places on the contrary were adapted, not by Lycaean, but by Greeks before the Hellenisation of the country. In many instances this is known to have been the case, and it was probably so in all. From the proximity of every part to the sea and the influence of Greek colonies, especially Miletus on its very shore, made the whole country familiar to the Greeks at an early date.

this reason they remained subject to most of the strict and peculiar phonetic laws which were characteristic of the native speech. It will be shown that all certain exceptions to these transmitted rules are probably and almost all unquestionably either hellenised or borrowed from some other region.²²

In all the other countries of the peninsula in which names of the Lycian type are found, the proportion of exceptions is much higher. Dialectic difference may, as far as the vowels are concerned, possibly account for some of these divergent forms. But, in respect of the consonants at least, they may, so far as they really belong to Asia Minor, be apparently divided into two classes. Some of them are purely Phrygian. Others are originally Lycian, but have undergone changes which are not in accordance with the laws of the Lycian but of the Phrygian language.

Of vowels Lycian possessed *η*, *ɨ* (generally written as *ε*,²³ *i*, and *u*,²⁴ Phrygian had all the Indo-European vowels, and in this respect Lydian agreed with it. The same may safely be said of Carian also.²⁵ In the other provinces no inscriptions in a native alphabet are preserved, and the evidence is therefore insufficient.

The subject of the long vowels *ē* and *ō* in Asia Minor is rather obscure. It seems certain that Lycian had no equivalent for *η*. In two of the three cases where a Greek word containing *η* is rendered into the native alphabet it is represented by *a*, and in the third by *ə*.²⁶ Moreover, *η* is not used in Greek transcriptions of Lycian names except in three ways.²⁷ It may stand for *eu*, as in Σέῳ for *eu-ei* in a bilingual inscription.²⁸ It is not uncommonly used as an equivalent for the native *ə* before *u* and *o*, as in *ηὐοι* for *ə-uoi*. In both these cases the lengthening is in compensation, and originates in the Greek transcription. The third case is when *e* is lengthened before a double *s*. But it seems almost certain that this is not native. For among personal names, which give the most reliable evidence,²⁹ there is no certain and only one possible instance.³⁰ Among local names in Lycia proper,³¹ there are

²² Some were borrowed from Greek, Persian, and Phrygian before the Greek period, as *pepsi* *artemispa*, *mels*. Some were so entirely assimilated as to form part of native compounds, as the Phrygian *Kere* (Kret-schmer, p. 188) and *Kere* (Toumanoff, n. 2, p. 20) in *ek-kere* and *kere-er*. But these were subject to the phonetic laws of the native language.

²³ In this respect I shall follow the practice of *Turc's* about *Nicæa* in employing *ε*, which though less accurate is more convenient.

²⁴ It had also the vocalised vowels *ə* and *ɔ* (which appear in Lydian likewise), and the short liquids *l* and *r*. These are not found in Phrygian, nor is *l* as is known in Carian, where the *ə* is apparently syllabic with a suppressed vowel, not itself a vowel.

²⁵ Though the Carian alphabet is very obscure, the great number of different vowels would almost be enough to prove that *ə* and *o* were distinguished.

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²⁶ *Jahresheft*, v, p. 52.

²⁷ Apparent exceptions are *Kremesos* (*J.H.S.* iv, p. 112) and *Imperio*. The first however, is hellenised so as to resemble the Greek name beginning with *kygo*. The second has a termination -*em* which is quite alien to Lycia, and markedly Indo-European; it is therefore probably a foreign name.

²⁸ The *η* in *Agyr* is due to the name *eu-**ker* (*Bailey*, *Smyrna*, p. 92), in an unpublished inscription, may not be from Lycia proper, as the place of origin is not mentioned (see note 18). But in any case it probably stands for *ek-ker*, from *Kere* (or *Kerke*) or *Kere*, found in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.

²⁹ See p. 48, note 24.

³⁰ *Kerke* may perhaps be the **karke*-*wo*. But it is at least equally probable that it stands for **karke-wo*.

³¹ *Hebere* does not apparently properly belong to Lycia (see p. 48).

only three,³⁴ and two of these come from literary sources, which on this point are not reliable.³⁵ The only example attested by the evidence of inscriptions or coins is that of Τελμητός, or Τελμησός, and here the forms are variable, since Τελματούς is not uncommon, and Τελμησσός is also found. The last comes nearest to the original *Telbishi* for **Telbesi*. The name was known to the Greeks before the hellenisation of the country, and the transliteration is due to them, not to the Lycians, a fact which accounts for its want of exactness. It is most probable that they simply assimilated it to that of the far more famous Τελμηστίς in Caria,³⁶ where both the lengthening of the vowel and the doubling of the consonant seem to be regular. It appears certain, at any rate, that in Lycia the long ε in the suffix -ησσός, as in other cases, is not native, but is due to the Greek transcription. Indeed, since the doubling of the ε is not found in the Lycian, there can be no reason for the lengthening of the vowel.

The Lycian language had no equivalent for ο. The vowel υ, which was the sound nearest to the Greek ο, was apparently always short. It is always rendered by ο or ε in proper names, never by ιω except in one instance.³⁷ Otherwise, in all Lycian names written in Greek letters, ου represents an original ου, not ο.³⁸ The Greek ο was evidently impossible to reproduce in Lycian, since Λπολλανιδής is rendered by *pulnida*, Πιξιδαπες by *pikidere*, and Ταρκεος, by *tarnis*. Moreover, in Greek transcriptions of native names ο is almost entirely absent, and in the two certain instances where it is native, it represents ου and οιο.³⁹ It never stands for a naturally long vowel, nor, except possibly in one doubtful instance,⁴⁰ for the lengthening of a vowel before a double consonant. The same rule holds good in Cilician Tracheia, with few possible exceptions.

Proper names in -αι and local names in -αιη are, as might be expected, foreign to Lycia. They are either Phrygian, as Βαλλιών (p. 56), or hellenised, as Οπλαον, Στραδών, Καλιθρίσων,⁴¹ An apparent exception is Κορδον, but this occurs at Idibessus, which does not seem to have been

³⁴ Τελμητός, Καβούργος (only in Strabo, p. 665) and Αρμασσός (only in Stephanus Byzantinus). Καβούρη in Lycia is a misquotation; the form cited from Herbelotus is Καβούρι (Sl. Byz. s.v.). This name occurs in connection with Homeric commentary, which makes it rather suspicious. *Ερμασσός* (Sl. Byz.) 'near Lycianos' must even if the text is correct have been in Phrygia.

³⁵ For instance, Stephanus gives Αεραγάντη, though the correct form is certainly *Αεραγάντα. There is great uncertainty among Greek authors in general about these terminations, both in respect of the vowel, and the doubling of the ε.

³⁶ *Hecat.*, l. 78, 84.

³⁷ Κουσάλη (gen.) though ungrammatical seems certain (Reisen, II. 71). Ζηρη is for the Lycian *ziri*, but the transcription of local

names is not always exact (see p. 48, note 2).

³⁸ An apparent exception, Οικανη, accompanied with the Cilician Οικη, Sandwith, p. 227, is not οιω in reality, as the name of his father is described as Εισέγαντη (Reisen, II. 107), probably from Cappadocia. There was no Οικανη in Lycia.

³⁹ Οικανη (O.I.G. 4392) for **oukane* and Τάδη for *taði*.

⁴⁰ If Αρρεν (p. 65, O.I.G. 4366) is connected with the Cilician Αρραι, it is probably a Cimmerian name. There is no certain instance of a Lycian name in -αι, or -αιη. This ο may represent ου, a common element in proper names. Κολλεκα (quoted by Sandwith) should represent Κολλεκας (*-kolles), unless it is meant for a Latin *Quodronna*, like *Kollega* for Quodronna.

⁴¹ For Καλλη, as often in inscriptions.

a Lycian town in the exact sense (see p. 48).⁴⁰ In Cilicia Tracheia the very rare names in -ση, when they are not Greek, appear to be Phrygian.⁴¹ In Phrygia itself the termination is common, as in Κυρος, Κρονος (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, I. 142), Δρακεα, Βιρος, Δαρας (*Ibid.* 314), etc., etc. As σ generally turned into εν (Kretschmer, p. 224), -ση may represent a native -σε, as in the Isaurian Μαθονε. So the local names Καστρα, Μεγαλα, and Ταρταρα appear side by side with Αλγουνα.⁴² Proper names in -ση are not uncommon in Caria, but a good many are hellenised. Of the remainder, at least half seem certainly to be Phrygian,⁴³ and it is very doubtful if any have any connexion with Lycian words.

In the matter of long vowels Lycian names contrast most strikingly with the Carian, in which they are remarkably common.⁴⁴ The chief cause is the rule by which ε and ο are lengthened before certain consonants when they are either doubled or followed by another consonant. Before liquids this lengthening is common, especially in the case of ο before ζξ and ξδ.⁴⁵ It also takes place before ε. This is shown by a comparison of the local name Ομπρας with Οεραδε in Lydia, and of the ethnics Λασσες and Λασσε which indicate an intermediate *Λασσας. Before -σσ- it is found in Κοστοβαλος, as compared with Κοστολλος. Altogether it occurs before σ in nearly twenty names, personal as well as local. Clear instances of lengthening before other consonants are not found, but it probably takes place in the case of guttares in the proper name Πελδηρος; possibly for Πελδεκος, as compared with Artemis Πελδεκετε, in Κοκος (which is also Phrygian), as compared with the Pisidian Κοκκαλος, and in the name of the Carian Zeus Σπαλωξος or Σπαλαξος, from which an intermediate *Σπαλλοξος might be inferred.

Examples of a similar lengthening are found in Lydia in the local names Κορρος, Καστολλος, etc. But these appear to have been inherited from their predecessors the Maeonians, one of whose chiefs is described in the *Iliad* as the son of Βόρρος.⁴⁶ This is certainly connected with the Phrygian Βορρος⁴⁷ and Βορρεος,⁴⁸ the Thracian Βορρος (Βορρος), and the Illyrian Βορρος, Βορρος, Βορρος, etc.⁴⁹ If so, it should represent *Βόρρος. Since the Maeonians are generally supposed to have been of Phrygian race, and the Phrygian origin of this name is evident, the question arises whether the lengthening of the vowel of which it is an example originates in the Phrygian language. Instances are certainly to be found there, and it is significant that parallel cases appear in Europe in

⁴⁰ Δρακερρος Ερεντος Αλεσα, Dittmayer *Synt.* 183 (doubtless found at Samos), may also have been Lycian in the wider sense only.

⁴¹ Χαρος (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, I. 327), Μαρος (*Studies in History*, etc., p. 22) are Phrygian; Βαρρος is Lycian, and probably Phrygian in origin; Μαρρος is Thracian.

⁴² Ramsay, *Studies*, pp. 303, 305, and 371.

⁴³ Βερας, Βερνος, Βερα, Βερνη, probably Βερνη, see below, p. 60. Also Καρνας

(Phrygian and Thracian Χέρνη, Tomashoff, II. 2, p. 20); Καρνη (see the last note), Νερνη (Bithynian Νερνη, Tomashoff, op. cit. p. 24).

⁴⁴ Kretschmer, p. 384.

⁴⁵ Kretschmer, p. 381.

⁴⁶ *Iliad*, v. 14.

⁴⁷ Ramsay, *Studies*, etc., p. 322.

⁴⁸ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, I. p. 222.

⁴⁹ See Index to *C.I.L.* III.

the districts from which the Phrygians migrated to Asia, in Paemaria, Mygdonia, and Macedonia.

For instance, the Carian proper name *Baldas* is no doubt connected with the ethnic *Baldareus* and the Lydian *Baleas*. But it is derived from the Phrygian *Balas*, which itself is identical with the Illyrian **Bolos* and *Bulus*, and the Paronian **Bolus* in *Bulda-Zarpa*.²³ Here the lengthening of *o* before a double liquid is evidently Phrygian. So also the Phrygian town of *Noroula* derives its name from *Norras*, *Norros*, etc. The native Phrygian *Hlos*,²⁴ connected with the *Hlos* of inscriptions written in Greek, cannot easily be separated from the *Elos* and *Eles* found in Isauria and Pisidia: it implies a form **Ełlos*. Local names in -*os*, -*os*, and -*os* are not uncommon in Phrygia and the Troad, of which the population in historic times was Phrygian,²⁵ but they are claimed as survivals from an older race. This explanation is improbable in the case of *Hephaestos*, at least. For, as this does not appear in the Homeric enumeration of places in the Troad, there is a certain presumption that the name is of later origin, and it is obviously derived from that of the Thracian chief *Heipos*,²⁶ and connected with that of the Illyrian tribe of *Heipontes*. Among proper names *Marpas*, from which the Phrygian town of *Marpotor* is probably derived in the regular way (p. 47) though found in Pisidia, is certainly Phrygian (Kretschmer, p. 290). Lengthening before a double guttural probably occurs, as has been already stated (p. 51) in *Kokos* for **Koxos*, a genuine Phrygian name which is also found in the European Dardania and Illyria.²⁷ Before a double dental it takes place in the local name *Tortura*, undoubtedly derived from *Tortys*, *Tortyc*, etc.

Examples of a similar lengthening among the kindred European tribes are found before liquids in *Heila*, from *Paeonia*,²⁸ compared with the Odromantian (Paronian)?²⁹ *Polalys* (Thucyd. v. 6), and the Dacian *Poldys* compared with *Pohli-gepal* (Trossischek, ii. 2, 29). The probably Paronian **Oymoxim*, **Oymoxiai*, or **Oymoxios* may afford another instance of this, as well as of lengthening before *s* followed by another consonant. The *g* in the neighbouring towns of *Tigynoxos* and *Arañgoxos* no doubt arises in the same way. There is no good reason to doubt the Thracian origin of the local names **Olympos*, **Agyos*, and *Salamis*?³⁰ The name of the Bessian king *Masias* or *Masias*?³¹ is another example. The Thracian *Kotrys* and *Kottres* for *Koris* show a lengthening before a double dental.

This very imperfect list of examples from the allied European dialects is sufficient to make it appear highly improbable that the lengthening of vowels before a double consonant arose among the Phrygians after their

²³ See p. 29.

²⁶ Jahn, p. 22; Beulatt, p. 3.

²⁴ Quiller, *J.H.S.* xxii, pp. 188, 190.

²⁷ Herodotus, v. 14. The tellur round

²⁵ Kretschmer, pp. 185, 188.

Mount Pangaeum (of whom the Queen was

²⁶ Hesel, p. 344.

probably one) were Parthian.

²⁷ Derflinger Coineus (Neisse), *Jahresgr.*,

²⁸ Kretschmer, p. 403.

iii. Buchstabe 121; Dalmatian Coineus, Pauli, iii. p. 302.

²⁹ Only known from coins.

migration to Asia. If so seems likely, it was native to their language, it does not necessarily follow that the Carians, who in this respect agreed with them and differed from the Lycauni, either spoke their tongue or learnt the usage from them. But the fact becomes important as part of a cumulative argument if the native names found in these countries respectively show a similar agreement and a similar difference with regard to other phonetic peculiarities.

In a previous paper,⁴⁴ I have shown that Τελαρηός, Τηρικός (therefore presumably also Απρηγούς), and probably Τερεστός (or -στός, all ended in -στό, for an earlier -στι; the same may by analogy be safely assumed about Καρατηρηός). These are the only authentic local names in -στός (-στι) found in Lycia proper.

There is nothing at all in the original Lycian corresponding to the double σ. For though -σσ- is sometimes found in other words, in every case it represents an original -ζ-, not -σ-.⁴⁵ But ζ had the sound of sh,⁴⁶ and in those instances σσ is merely an attempt to express in the Greek alphabet a sound for which it had no equivalent letter. In the case of σ no such reason existed, and though the σ-suffix is remarkably common in personal names the doubling never took place among them, but is confined to the local names just mentioned. It seems therefore that the σσ is entirely due to the Greek transcription. The most probable explanation of it is that the early colonists on the mainland of Asia settled among Carians and Maeonians with whom the σ was native and very common. It thus became so familiar to them that they sometimes introduced it by analogy into names which were not entitled to it. That the σσ- in Caria was a double letter, not a sh as in Lycia, seems proved by the lengthening of the vowels which took place before it in the same way as before other double consonants.

In Greek renderings of Lycian words, -μμ- and -νν- represent an original -μμ- and -νν-, where a nasal is preceded by a sonant nasal. It does not seem that l could be doubled between vowels except in cases and contractions, for otherwise it only appears in the late bilingual inscription T.A.M.6, which was evidently engraved by a Greek.⁴⁷ It is therefore doubtful if any of the few names in the later Greek inscriptions which contain -νν- are really native.⁴⁸ In the other countries of Asia Minor intervocalic ll is often found. It is rather common both in Caria and in Phrygia.

⁴⁴ *J. H. S.* 1888, pp. 192, 193.

⁴⁵ The proper name Οσσεύς is certainly for ουσιάν as in ουσιάν, and Τηρικός for τηρικόν as in τηρικόν. Οσσεύς is probably for ουσιάν as in ουσιάν; compare the Carian θα-θεύα. Θεύα is probably foreign, see p. 50, note 6. Other names are outside the boundaries of Lycia.

⁴⁶ See *Jahresheft*, II, p. 68. It corresponds to a Persian z and to an Arabic sheen.

⁴⁷ In the name μηλιγεύς (gen.) = Μελιγέας. The engraver has twice written a Greek z by mistake for a Lycian ζ.

⁴⁸ Βάσας is not uncommon, but may like some other names be borrowed from Phrygian (Asia from Galatas, Cf. 2, 412), also Thracian, Kentarchus, p. 322. Βάσας is certainly Phrygian (p. 50). Μανασάν is Carian. Σάσαν and the Isaurian-Cilician Σάσας are probably Phrygian (compare Thracian Σάσα and Σάσα; Illyrian Σάσα, Messapian Σάσα, Venetian Pauli, iii, p. 228, Σάσα, Noricum, ibid., p. 270). Μάσαν, mentioned above, is also Phrygian in origin; compare Μάσα from the Phrygian region of the Ογδύλι (Ramsay, *Cilicia* and *Bithynia*, 1,

If there is an uncertainty about *-ll-*, there is none about *-rr-*, which is entirely foreign both to the native Lycian, and to the Greek versions of Lycian names. But examples are found in Phrygia, and in all the countries of southern and western Asia Minor, including Cilicia, where it is not uncommon. The doubling of *r*, as well as *t*, is found both in Thrace and in Illyria.

In Lycian neither gutturals nor labials are ever doubled between vowels, and the rule is observed in Greek transcriptions. In the case of gutturals the only exception is *Axa*, which is a Phrygian name, evidently borrowed.⁵⁷ In Phrygia *-ss-* is not uncommon, and is found in the late native inscriptions.⁵⁸ It occurs also in Lyconian and Issorian names which are certainly of Phrygian origin, as *Messos* (compare the town of *Messoria* in Phrygian Pisidia, and the Illyrian proper name *Mien*, *G.L.* iii. 445), *Δασσον* (compare the Messapian **Dadies*); also in Pisidia, as *Klaes* (compare the Venetic *klæs*, *Pauli*, iii. 359), *Korakos* (compare the Illyrian *Coen*, *ibid.* p. 365; *Cocains*, *ibid.* p. 371, etc.), and in Milyas, as *Hoxres* (*J.H.S.* xv. p. 121; compare the Illyrian *Pivres*, *Pauli*, *op. cit.* p. 377, and *Pivres*, p. 360).

The doubling of a labial is only found in Lycia in *Πλάτων*, *Πλάτων*, and *Παττίων*,⁵⁹ and in *'Αρτιων* and *'Αρταδης*. Each of these occurs once only, and they are, I believe, certainly either Greek or borrowed from Phrygia. For except the names mentioned and *Πλάτων* (genitive probably of *Πλάτος*, Kretschmer, p. 345), which is once met with, the whole class of names formed from *Πλάτ-* is absent in Lycia. *Πλάτος*, *Πλάτων*, *Πλάτων*, and *Πλάτων*, which are so extraordinarily common in Phrygia and Lyconia, are here not to be found. Such names are also uncommon in Cilicia and southern Pisidia. But they occur in the northern parts of Phrygia as well as the southern, and are evidently connected with the Bithynian Zeus *Πάτων* or *Πλάτων*, who is undoubtedly a European god.⁶⁰ They are likewise found in Thrace.⁶¹ Similarly names formed from *Ἄρτ-* are rare in Lycia, for besides the two mentioned we only find *'Αρθεα* twice, *'Αρθεα* once, and *'Αρθαρμον* once. But these forms are entirely foreign to Lycia, for the letter *φ* is not found in any other word. In fact, *Ἄρφ-* and *Ἀρφ-* are especially characteristic

p. 214), the Macedonian *Μέκον* (Hoffmann, *Dic. Macédonien*, p. 211) and *Μέκον* (*Ibid.* p. 229), also found in Curtis, *C.I.G.* 2745. Compare the Illyrian *Mellos*, *Pauli*, iii. p. 302, and the Venetic **Molos*, *note Mollos*, *Mollos*, etc., *ibid.* p. 328. In Lycia proper, the only other related name is *maka*, *Mekes*, in an inscription in which Carian names are mixed with Lyconian (*T.A.N.* 22). *Mekes*, *Mekes*, etc., quoted as Lycian are really Cilician, Milyan, Pamphylian, and Pisidian. The reading *Σάλα* (*Brem*, II. 159) is uncertain. *Σάλα* is perhaps more probable. *Σάλα* and *Σάλσα* are also quoted in Samian's work. The last, at least, it rightly restored to belong to Lycia, in which the reading *σαλ* does not

occur in native names, see note 41.

⁵⁷ E.g. *J.H.S.* xxvi. p. 182. In an inscription partly written in Phrygian; *G. Kirischner*, p. 221.

⁵⁸ As in *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 181.

⁵⁹ *Hoxres* occurs also once at Olympia. Otherwise the form does not belong to Asia Minor, but is simply a not uncommon Greek name. As such only it was introduced into Lycia. *Hoxres* is a variant. The derivatives *βάττειον* and *βάττειον* are Greek in form, and foreign to Asia Minor, especially to Lycia, where names like *βάττειον* are native; see p. 60.

⁶⁰ Kretschmer, pp. 199 and 211.

⁶¹ Kretschmer, p. 216.

of Bithynia, as well as Phrygia (compare Kretschmer, pp. 340 and 347, with p. 223),⁷ but seem to be absent in Cilicia and southern Pisidia, and all names of this class are rare on the southern side of Mount Taurus.

In Greek transcriptions of Phrygian words ξ is often found. It arises in two ways, from a guttural and from a ζ.⁸ In Lycian the sound is not native, for the letter which is transcribed by ζ corresponds to σ not ξ in Greek. Ζερμανούρι is the only certain example of a name containing ξ, and this is probably Milyan, as it is found at Arycanda as well as once at Myra. Ζερη here represents a native Lycian Δερη- as in Ουρ-δερη and Σερη-δερη, but has undergone the same Phrygian change as Ζαππος, which occurs in Phrygia itself (C.L.G. 4084). The Cilician Ιν-ζαππας, Πο-ζαππας, and Τροκο-ζαππας are also examples of the alteration of δ to ξ which appears in several other names from the same province. It may be taken as evidence of the Phrygian influence of which other traces are found.

It has long been observed that no Lycian word begins with *b*, and the rule holds good of native names, both personal and local, written in Greek letters. There is only one apparent exception in an inscription at Luniya, which reads, according to Loew's copy, Βιστραπεις Αβασιος λυνια καιροε[σ]ατε το μεγαλητον ιαντη, ε.τ.λ.⁹ The second and third words are meaningless as they stand, and assuming the first to be correct, we must certainly read Βιστραπεις Αβασιος [Τ]ηνιατος.¹⁰ The woman was therefore a foreigner from Τηνια in Caria,¹¹ and this is one of the exceptions which prove the rule. All other instances are evidently foreign, and most of them are not really found in Lycia at all.

Βεροει (Reisen, ii. 83) is a very common name in Thrace,¹² but is also Phrygian (C.L.G. 3837, addenda). From Phrygia it passed into Lycia and into Cilicia (Büros; J.H.S. xii. 27, 26). Βεροι at Pergamum has the same

⁷ It seems to me certain, however, that the forms in Αρη- into which Αρη- and Αρε- are formed, are借入的 on the model of the Greek αρη. Αρησιος, Ναρησιος, and Τερησιος seem to be Greek in form, as Θεαρησιος certainly is (Kretschmer, p. 230), and with these must be classed Αρησιοι, Αρησιοι and Τερησιοι, with the common late Greek formative suffix -ηιος. Except Αρη- is obviously hellenised or Latin or Persian names, or is generally of the rarer occurrence in Asia Minor. Neither is word-alien to the Lydian nor the Phrygian does it seem to be native. Its extreme frequency in this new class of names at a late date can hardly be explained except as the result of Greek influence. Of the two other names beginning with Αρη-, already mentioned, Αρησιος seems foreign to Asia Minor.

⁸ Kretschmer, pp. 130 and 190.

⁹ C.L.G. 16, addenda 13161. That Loew was not infallible as a copyist may be seen on

the same page, by comparing 4316 and 4315b with T.A.W. i. 130 and 132.

¹⁰ It is not improbable that the first word should also be corrected to "Βιστραπεις" on the analogy of Βιστραπεις etc. But I do not think that the initial Η can actually represent a native initial Η as Sandys suggests (p. 181). No instance of such a transliteration appears to be well established. Except the change of an initial πο, unpronounceable in Greek, to οη in the Paphian Αθηση, which is not analogous. The change of οη to οι took place within the Lydian language. On the contrary a native η was often altered into οι Greek: οι see below, p. 62, note 132.

¹¹ Σι. Βιζ. οη. He gives the ethnic as Τηνιατος, but the typical Carian and Lydian ethnic was ιηι (ιηι, ε.τ. Ειηι, Αγιηι, etc.), which commonly has the genitive ιηις.

¹² Also from Upper Moesia (Dardanian and Moesian); Sathradagh, nr. Beshikta, pp. 57, 58.

form as *Bitus*, which is found among the Paeanian Denthelatae. The feminine *Bitter* is Carian;⁵²

Bonatas, at Olympia, which is not properly to be counted as a Lycaean town, is Greek, the feminine of *Bonatēs*,⁵³ a well-known epithet of Dionysus, which properly belongs to *Lesbar*.⁵⁴ *Βιλλας* does not occur in Lycia but at Calanderis in Cilicia,⁵⁵ and *Bartānē* is a Phrygian name from Calabria,⁵⁶ *Baldātar*,⁵⁷ which is spelt as Lycian, is certainly of Phrygian origin,⁵⁸ connected with *Baldar* or *Baldar*, king, from an Indo-European root meaning 'power'.⁵⁹ The Isaurian feminine *Baldathēs* is formed according to Phrygian rules from *Baldar*, and recalls the numerous Illyrian names in -atos and -atus, as well as the Massapian-Illyrian *Bulētēs* (genitive *Bulētēki*).⁶⁰ Names in -atos are also Phrygian.⁶¹ The stem appears in the Isaurian *Baldas*, the Pamphylian *Baldas*, and the Lyconian *Baldathos*. From the last is formed the Lyconian *Baldathos* (feminine *Baldathoa*) for *Baldathos*, which has no resemblance to any native personal name in Asia Minor but shows an evident connexion with that of the Phrygian district *Baldathos* and the Calabrian (not Lycian) town of *Baldathos*.

This, like most local names, is no doubt formed from a personal name *Baldas*, probably for *Baldar*. The ending is not to be classed with the -pa of the Lycaean *Alpāpa*, but with the -arpa of the Phrygian *Kārarpa*, which is also found in *Garpāarpa* in Lycrenia,⁶² *Guz̄-arpa* in Pontus, *Kol̄-arpa* in Ionia, *Torbalarpa* and *Alarpa*⁶³ in Lydia, and possibly *Māsarpa* in Pamphylia. It appears also in the Dardanian (Illyrian) *Bal̄-roupa*, and with a slight change in the Thracian *Baldouros*; and in two places *Baldouros*, one in Epirus, the other a town of the Trilles in Illyria. It is very probable that *arpa* in *Bal̄-roupa* represents the -aro in *Cleora*, also in Upper Moesia, and corresponds to the Greek *Σφόρος*, a word which was certainly represented in closely allied languages. It appears in the Phrygian *apo*, *apo* Kretschmer, p. 285; and in the names of the Epirotic 'Opētūm,

⁵² Kretschmer, p. 318.

⁵³ See Boeckh's note on C.I.O. 2042.

⁵⁴ Cf. Panty-Wissowa, *et al.* The Carian Name is similarly derived. Names beginning with *Bo* akin to Lycaean are balanced names of originals in Mo., just as *Monbar* was changed by the Greeks to *Barbar*. Thus the Carian *Bonatas* corresponds to a Lycaean *monatas* (to be restored in T.A. II. 1. 55, 2), compare *monas* as the Cilician *Baldas* is for *midas*. Like *monatas* compare *midatas*. There is no question of such conscious exchange of consonants in the native languages, but only of the substitution of a possible for an impossible combination in the Greek transcription. Names in *Bo-* and *Bo-* may therefore be left out of consideration.

⁵⁵ See below, p. 62.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 60.

⁵⁷ Sandwall, p. 280. As the locality is not mentioned, it may not be Lycaean in the strict

apo

⁵⁸ *paras* is found at Thermes in the native land of the Phrygian Mygdonians.

⁵⁹ Kretschmer, p. 242; Tomashchuk, n. 2 pp. 11, 12. The Dardanian *Bartānē* may be for *Barbar-aro*, stronghold of the king, see Tomashchuk, n. 2, p. 21. The root appears also in the name of the Dacian King *Zare Balas* (cf. Thracian *Balas*, C.J.L. iii. 1929, 3) and the Illyrian king *Balas* (probably also in the Illyrian Zeus *Balas*, and perhaps in the Thracian *Balas* (Thymoxys)).

⁶⁰ Possibly the Lycaean *Bal̄-roupa* is from the same stem; see American Journal of Archaeology, xxxi, p. 28.

⁶¹ Kretschmer, p. 282.

⁶² Also *Garpāarpa*, which makes it probable that *torpa* represents *tor-aro*.

⁶³ The root *Alar* is Illyrian and Paeonian, see A.M. Journal of Archaeology, xxii, p. 51.

the mountaineers, and of the probably Paesian *Ophryxion* or *Ophryxion*, a tribe of Mount Pangaeus. It is also very probable that the *-apo-*, so remarkably common in all districts which were or had been Paesian,²⁴ is connected with *ἀπός*, and means a fortified height or borg. It was carried by Phrygian tribes into Asia Minor, where the Botinei founded Ἀγκύρη near the Ascanian lake, similar in termination to their native *Akros*, and in stem to the Illyrian *Antos*²⁵ and the two Phrygian cities of *Anycra*. *Korepa* in Pontos is undoubtedly formed from the proper name *Kore*, which is Phrygian and Illyrian as well as Thracian.²⁶ *Isoipa* is found in the same region. The Paphlagonian *Kirmac* seems to be derived from a probably related proper name Thracian *Culta*, *Cutis*, etc., Illyrian *Cutis* (Pannoma, C.I.E. iii. 4083). It may be concluded that *-apa* is certainly, and *-oipa* almost certainly, of European origin, and that *Baldarpa* is a Phrygian, not a Lycian, word meaning probably the borough of *Baldaros*.²⁷

The name of the second Cabalian town, *Boudon*, seems to be Phrygian also, in spite of its Greek appearance. The suffix is Phrygian, not Lycian.²⁸ It is evidently derived from the name *Baßas*, found in Bithynia (C.I.E. 3795), which stands in the same relation to the Phrygian *Baßys* as *Dorōn* to *Dadas* and *Nemus* to *Naxos*. It must be remembered that the genuine Phrygian origin of the class of names derived from baby-language which are so common in the provinces is not disputed. It is merely denied that they are exclusively due to immigration from Europe.²⁹ It follows that the origin of each particular name of this type must be determined separately, partly from its geographical distribution and partly from a comparison of similar names in other districts. Judged by those tests, *Ba*,³⁰ *Baßa*, and a whole group of connected names are certainly Phrygian. They are entirely unknown in Lycia, and of the extremes rarity south of Mount Taurus and in the south-west.³¹ They are found in the northern part of Phrygia,³² where survivals of the older population are at least exceedingly uncommon as well

²⁴ *Akros*, *Akrap*, *Alkesos*, *Alkypar*, *Al-*
cepos, *Al-**ceps*, *Tayaps*.

²⁵ Pauli-Wissowa, 2.

²⁶ *Baldar* in Caria, a presumably older name of Hierapolis (S. B. 192, 1. 3) does not really relate to *Baldarpa*, but rather to the town and lake *Baldar*, in Mygdonia, whence one of the Phrygian tribes migrated. If Tuomi-shuk's derivation (ib. 2, p. 34) is correct, from the root *bald*, 'swelling', 'to swell', 'to be round' the Greek *Baldar* would seem to be borrowed from a distant skin to the Phrygian. The island *Bolissos* (Pliny v. 137, which should be emended to *Bolissos*) off the Italian coast derives this name from the Greek word. But the district *Baldaros* in Cilicia-Trachis (Boissier, *Hist. Geog.* p. 37) no doubt had a native name.

²⁷ See p. 51.

²⁸ Krebschauer (p. 350) states this most

distinctly. It appears to me that all the names he collects (pp. 334, seqq.) are genuinely Phrygian, but that he overestimates the number of those which are also Lycian.

²⁹ In C.I.G. 4090, *b*, probably under *Arzrys* or *al-**Nemus* *nat. Bör*, *Be Arzrys*, should be read instead of *Bör*. The Phrygian local name *Bardos* (p. 38) is probably a contraction of *Bardosos*, and akin to *Bardos* in Cilicia (Boissier, *Hist. Geog.* p. 372).

³⁰ So appears once in Cilicia at Italanda. The Pamphylian 'babylonic' names, like most Pamphylian names (see p. 68), do not relate to the Lycian. Only you no names are compounded with *bala* in the second part. No related names seem to be found in Caria, unless the Milyan *Balpar* be reckoned, as it probably may, as Carian.

³¹ E.g. at Delium, Krebschauer, p. 253.

as in the ancient native inscriptions in the heart of the country.²² Bāc is known as the name of a Bithynian king, and Baθac as that of a Thracian general (Pauly-Wissowa, *sab. re.*). There can hardly be a doubt that Boθax, like Baθay, is one of the names which are common to the Phrygians and the Thracians and consequently that Boθax is of Phrygian origin. The town of Beθaxos or Enθassos (*Boθaxos) in Caria is also to be derived from Boθax, and has a Phrygian name. The termination, as has been already shown, is not necessarily Lydian (p. 53).

A parallel case is found in Baργασα, also in Caria. This cannot be separated from the Carian Baργυλδιν, which shows marked Persian and Illyrian affinities, both in stem and suffix. It is identical in name with Baργυλλος in Illyria and with Baργυλος near the Strymon.²³ The same stem is found in Baργαλα in Pelagonia,²⁴ The termination of Baργυλδιν is found exactly in Σερμολία in Chalcidice and Μ. Κερδύλιος at the mouth of the Strymon, and almost exactly in Τέρπουλλος and Μάρυλλος in Mygdonia, whence the Phrygian tribe of Mygdonians migrated to Asia Minor.

As a man's name, Baργος at Cyzicus recalls on the one hand the Bithynian Βεργατός,²⁵ and on the other the Cilician Baργαος. Side by side with this is found Baργυλος, a name which is shown to be of Phrygian origin not only by the initial B but also by the presence of θ which is as foreign to Cilicia as it is to Lydia (see p. 67).

Another Carian town, Baρούλα,²⁶ has a Phrygian name. It has the same suffix as the Phrygian Ατζούλα, Baρούλα, and Ναζούλα,²⁷ as well as the Dardanian Αφούλας, and the Thracian Βεργούλη, Ραχούλη, and Τιρούλα. The stem is Phrygian, as well as Thracian, Persian, and Dardanian.²⁸

Other Carian names with initial B are evidently Phrygian, not Lydian, in affinity. The proper name Baλαιρρος is not only Macedonian but also Illyrian, as is shown by the Messerian Baλαιραβ-ηθί.

The Carian Βόταν is identical with the Illyrian *Bato*, *Batto*,²⁹ *Batto*,

²² Old Phrygian *Baθax*. Kreuzer, p. 239.

²³ The neighbourhood of this place to Parthonopolis confirms its relationship to Bargallum, among the Parthini. Tomashoff, II, p. 62.

²⁴ Hjortzberg, 611. This cannot possibly be the same as Bargallum, as suggested in Pauly-Wissowa, *sab. re.* It lies in Macedonia, probably Pelagonia, while the other was near the Illyrian coast among the Parthini.

²⁵ This may however be derived from the town of Baργα.

²⁶ The north side of the Meander valley was Carian in Herodotus' time as far as Mycale (Book 6, 40), and was still so reckoned by Ephorus (see frags. 23 and 28). Later it was generally called Lydia. The population was mixed in Strabo's day (p. 645); but the Lydians were probably immigrants. Native Carian (not Lydian) inscriptions have been found at

Trales (Sayce, *Proceedings of S.B.A.*, xxvii, Nos. 4 and 6).

²⁷ These two places (Banbury, *Sunterne*, etc., pp. 261, 271), together with almost all those named in the group of inscriptions in which they are mentioned, must be reckoned to Phrygia παραρραια, in which Apollonia and Antiochia are distinctly assigned by Strabo (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 227, and *Glossary*, 1, p. 316). Late Phrygian inscriptions are found in this district (Ramsay, *Archæologia*, etc., viii, 211; Bechtold, p. 88). The names, local and personal, which occur there, are almost exclusively Phrygian, and I shall quote them as such. It was only under the Roman empire that this part of Phrygia was included in Pisidia.

²⁸ See Tomashoff, II, 2, p. 61.

²⁹ Pennell, iii, pp. 374, 380.

The related Phrygian **Bortos* (in *Bortium*) is the Illyrian *Bottius*, *Botties*.¹¹⁶ The Lydian *Bortas* is found again exactly in Paonia.¹¹⁷ The Bithynian *Bortipas* represents the Illyrian *Bontorius*,¹¹⁸ whence the Thracian place *Bortopez*. Nothing similar occurs in Lycia or in compounds of the Lycean type.

The Carian *Bortas* is also one of the most characteristic of Illyrian names, which occurs in Dalmatia and Upper and Lower Pannonia. It is likewise found in Dardania.¹¹⁹ The Phrygian feminine *Bartas*, and *Babbius*, from Isaura, are from **Barttos*; whence also the Punic name¹²⁰ and Peucetian *gentilis* *Betties*.¹²¹ From the same stem are derived the Cilician *Bartes*, the Pisidian *Bartas*, and the Phrygian *Bartares* and *Bartes*, which is also found in Cappadocia and has been incorrectly classed as Lycean.¹²² It has no Lycean analogies, and is not found in any compound proper name.¹²³

The Carian *Boldas* is derived from the Phrygian *Boldas*, whence *Boldaros*. By a change common in Asia Minor,¹²⁴ though not Lyceian, *Boldas* would stand for **Boldas*. From the same stem is derived the Lydian *Boldas*, and probably the Carian ethnic *Boldas-er*. The same name appears as *Bolles* in Messapia, and as **Bolos* in *Bolaspur*, a town of the Tralles, an Illyrian tribe, the legendary founders of the Carian Tralles.¹²⁵ It is also found as *Bulus* in Pannonia and **Bulus* in the Paeonian town of

¹¹⁶ *Dial.* pp. 371, 377.

¹¹⁷ Hellmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 223. It is also Thracian, Pannonic, &c. 2, p. 10. The Phrygian **Bortas* in *Bortas* is a form of *Bortas*, like the Illyrian *Abo*, *Aro* (Kretschmer, p. 237), *Mitar-Mordas* (ibid., p. 257). The Thracian *Bortas* is for *Botias* as e.g. *Argyratas* for *Argatas*; it is identical with *Boys* from Pergamum. The Phrygian town of *Boga* is probably from the same stem. It is easily derived (see E.-W. s.v. *Bogas*). See Kretschmer, p. 190. By a slip in Sandwall, p. 176, *Boga* is confused with *Basis* in Cappadocia.

¹¹⁸ *C.I.L.* III. 1044.

¹¹⁹ Kretschmer, p. 245.

¹²⁰ Pauli, iii. p. 270; also *Bartas*, p. 269. *Batias* and *Batias* are found in Noricum (ibid., p. 262).

¹²¹ Conway, *Hellen. Districts*, index.

¹²² The Samian or Cilician *Botes* is probably for **Bortas*, as *Botes* for *Bortas* (note 107). With it is connected the Cappadocian feminine name *Bortas*, and the town of *Bogas*, in the same way as *bogas* with *Bolpas*. The latter *Bogas* in Heraclea-Kastrika, p. 5, from *Milyas*, is probably from the genitive *Boter*, or *Boter*, *Bortas*.

¹²³ *Xanthophorus* found in Cerni is certainly a Greek word **Xanthos*, a known form of *Xanthos* *Agros*. *Xanthos*, I believe, is derived the

Lycean *pekes* *Kababaros*, a corruption arising from the fact that the Lyceans could not pronounce the Greek *o* (see p. 10). Most places on the coast have Greek names. The river *Kababaros* is not likely to be a compound, as local names are almost always formed with a suffix. It is probably from the same stem as the neighbouring town of *Kababar*. That district, afterwards reckoned Phrygian, was originally part of Phrygia.

¹²⁴ See p. 51. The name does not, I believe, occur in any compound proper name of the Lycean type. Even for one of those, the supposed Caelian *Melibekkandenses* (gen.) could be too long. It is certainly a double name, *Melibekkandenses*, such as are common enough in Asia Minor (see Sandwall, p. 265). In an inscription of the same family we find *Melibek* by itself (Helmley-Kaligla, p. 47).

¹²⁵ Through *Nitabo*, p. 156, and Illyrian all three *Bornatas*, *Babbius* Illyrian men, in describing them as Illyrian (so also *Tyndas*, *Bogas*, and *Bolpas*), over the border authority of Thessaly, and *Leyz* (so doubtless following Polybius) expressly mentions *Boys* (thus that they were Illyrians (xvii. 22; xx. 25; xxiii. 4). They were much used in the service of the Macedonian kings, who are more likely to be the *Boeoti* referred to by Herodotus than the kings of Pergamum. See Hainay, *Hist. Grec.* p. 112.

Bulduçapa,¹¹¹ The Carian *Borðor* corresponds to the *bortos* of the Dacian *Borodatos*, and the *bortos* of the Moesian *Bozata* (Tomashoff, ii. 2, p. 15), it is found also in the Dardanian *Boridatos* (*ibid.* p. 23) and the Pannonian *Borutus* (C.I.L. iii. dxxix). By a change very characteristic of Thracian, it probably appears in that language as *Mōrtiv*, whence the Lydian ethnic *Mortene*. *Borðor* has no resemblance to any proper name in Asia Minor.

It should be observed that the Carian *Baztor*, *Botoor*, *Bator*, *Bolkor*, and *Bostor*, which are so markedly Phrygian; Illyrian, or Thracian in the stem, have also the suffix *-or* which is very characteristic of Phrygian and Illyrian but as wholly foreign to Lycian as the initial B (see p. 50). These instances justify the presumption that the few remaining Carian names with initial B are likely also to be Phrygian, not Lydian in affinity.¹¹²

The Carian place *Bepparθlāmū* is certainly for *Bepparθlāmū*, which seems clearly to have the suffix *-tāmū*, remarkably characteristic of Phrygian local names,¹¹³ but probably unknown in Lydian.¹¹⁴ It should by analogy be derived from a proper name **Bepparθlām*, or more probably **Bepparθlām*, like the Dacian *Bereθlām*, from the Phrygian root *ber-*, power, already mentioned; if so, it would be equivalent to the Greek *Φερεπάτης*. The first part appears in *Bepora* or *Bēpora* in the traditional Macedonian home of the Phrygians of which the typical Phrygian suffix (*ps.* Kretschmer, p. 203) appears still more distinctly in the form *Bēporas*, carried with them by the settlers in the Syrian town.¹¹⁵ The name was derived from a traditional formula *Φερον*, but is Phrygian not Greek.¹¹⁶ There seems to have been another *Bepora* on the west coast of Chalæntic in territory that was probably once Phrygian (Mygdonian),¹¹⁷ as well as *Bepaly* or *Beroe* in Thrace and *Beroe* in Mösia. From the same root may be derived the proper name *Bepatas* from Cilicia, for **Bepatas* with the diminutive suffix so common in Phrygian (Kretschmer, p. 201), which may be connected with the Pisidian *Mepatas* and *Mepantos*.¹¹⁸

It is also probable that the Carian feminine name *Bepθas* may be derived from the same root. It does not seem to be connected with the Lydian

¹¹¹ Also in the Illyrian tribe of Bulid and the district of Bullis or Bozai.

¹¹² *Boro* (p. 26), *Baztor* (note 92), *Bolkor* (p. 28), *Bopyros* (*ibid.*), *Barydla* (*ibid.*), *Bolmaz* (*ibid.*), and *Bostor* (*ibid.*) have been already discussed.

¹¹³ See p. 47.

¹¹⁴ It is very likely that *Nepakos*, quoted from Alexander Polyhistor (S. Byz. s.v.), may be formed in the Phrygian way from a proper name **Nekatos*. But, if so, it was probably in Mylius (see p. 48), which is Alexander's claim was part of Lydia, and whose name in fact, are remarkably similar; in Lydian they are almost unknown and probably foreign, see note 66. The termination *-tas* is also especially Mylian. The only Lydian place

name, *Katataria*, is probably meant for Greek, see note 143. The suggestion (Swindall, p. 176) that *Bepparθlāmū* is derived from a possible Lydian "pars-plura with a suffix -ips" is not therefore convincing enough in itself to give any support to the view that a Lydian p may be rendered by b.

¹¹⁵ St. Byz. s.v. *Bēporas*.

¹¹⁶ Tomashoff's derivation (ii. 2, 38) from the root *ber-*, in the sense of fertile, is particularly suitable to the garden of Midas, Herod. ciii. 138.

¹¹⁷ Grotius' argument is very convincing and has other support, Pauly-Wissowa, p. 300 (2).

¹¹⁸ The change of b to m is Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 230.

p̄t̄-p̄t̄- in *p̄t̄-i-n̄s*, *d̄d̄w̄-p̄t̄s*, *p̄t̄t̄b̄s*, and Παρθαστ̄. For Παρθαστ̄, which evidently corresponds to *p̄t̄t̄b̄s*, and is no doubt connected with πάρθαστ̄, or πάρθος, a leopard, occurs not only in Lydia and Lydia but also in Caria. There is abundant evidence that a Lycian *p̄* is represented by *w̄* in Caria; and a Lycian *-rt̄-* may correspond to a Carian *-p̄o-*.²²² It is not probable that the same stem should appear in the same language both as Παρθ- and Βερθ-, and still less that the change should be produced by its conversion into Greek, in which the word was already naturalised as τάρθος.²²³ It will also be shown that the letter *θ* is not Lycian but Phrygian (see p. 87).

The Carian Βούρμος is probably for *Baθ̄-*, and connected with the Phrygian *Βούρδος in Βούρδα²²⁴ for Βούρδος and the Paphlagonian Βον,²²⁵ It may be compared with the Illyrian *Borinidi* (Pauli, iii. p. 360), *Boritius* (*C.I.L.* iii. 1934),²²⁶ and probably with *Boritescus* from Noricum (*ibid.* 6513). The Dalmatian feminine *Bao* (Pauli, iii. p. 365) for *Bero* is certainly Illyrian, but *Brio* (masculine), common in Pannonia, may be Gaulish, like *Borus*. In this case the connexion which has been suggested with the Carian *Borus*,²²⁷ the Lycian Ήσχλα (*ψυναλα), etc., would perhaps in itself be preferable to the Phrygian and Illyrian derivation, if there were any clear cases of the change of a Lycian *p̄* to *β*, and if convincing Lycian analogies could be found for the other Carian words with initial *B*. These conditions however do not seem to be fulfilled, and the whole class may probably be considered as Phrygian in origin. The same may be said with confidence of the few remaining examples from southern and western Asia Minor.

The Phrygian, Thracian, and Illyrian connexions of the ancient Maeonian Βρόπος have been already mentioned.²²⁸ It is not related to any Lycian word.²²⁹ The name of another Maeonian chief in the *Himē*, Μέοθλης, is almost identical with the Dardanian *Mestulēs* (*Jahreshefte*, iv. Beihant, p. 85) and akin to the Thracian *Mestitu*, and *Metros* at Thimis (*J.H.S.* xxix. p. 100). Other related names are collected by Perdrizet (*Cordula Naufrageuse*, pp. 217–233) who shows that *Metros* is a native name of the river *Nērēas*. If it is the more ancient form, the Maeonians may once have dwelt in that region. The Maeonian god Καιβαλῆς had an Indo-European name (Kretschmer, p. 388) and the possibly Maeonian king *Δύρρης (*ibid.* p. 380), but a later

²²² As Carian *Akēdēpis* compared with Lycian *Takēs* in *Takēsōdā* and *Takēsōdā-p̄t̄-*.

²²³ In the region of Antiochia Phrygia, which was certainly really Phrygian (see p. 44, note 162). The proper name *Baθ̄-Bās-* occurring in the name *Bās-tās* is a Greek word *καθηδρός*, but is almost-certainly borrowed from *Baθ̄-Bās* for fashion's sake, as often happened.

²²⁴ *P.H.G.* ix. p. 353.

²²⁵ *Bon* also occurs as a gentilic name in Italy, but only in the Illyrian *Bonita* (Cunway, *The Ital. Dialects*, 6, *notar.*).

²²⁶ The Venetic *gr̄d̄-b̄s* (*gr̄d̄-b̄s*) is taken by Pauli (*ibid.* p. 350) for *Cordula*, but it might be Phrygian for *Borus*, as *cordu* for *cerys*, *but*, p. 382.

²²⁷ This however may very easily represent *Βον- as there is ample precedent for the conversion of a native *θ* into *v*, though not for the reverse change.

²²⁸ P. 31.

²²⁹ The Lycian *Kiθ-ən̄s* (*Kiθən̄s*) is compounded with the word *ən̄s* (*T.A.M.*, 55, 2), whence also by a common change is now *Kiθ-ən̄s*(?).

namesake who was king of Illyria (Polybius, ii. 2, 4). The name *Maiare* may well be identical with that of the European *Haimos*, from a common original **Bauros*.¹²⁴ This is the more probable since their neighbours the Phrygians, Myrians, and Trojans (*Dardanians*), were all considered to be related to the Pierians, and lived near them in their European homes.¹²⁵

Baryes, a town in Lydia, may be connected with the Paphlagonian proper name *Barys*,¹²⁶ the probably Phrygian town of *Baryasdu*, and the Phrygian Zeus *Baryos*.¹²⁷ It may also be compared with *Barys*, a town of the Illyrian *Traillor* (p. 59).

The native Lydian *Bekires* is translated by Διαυστελῆς in a bilingual inscription.¹²⁸ This points to an alternative form *Baxos* by the side of *Baxox*, which probably appears in the Isonian feminine name *Baxox*.¹²⁹ Such a form is also indicated by the Greek word *Baxoxos*, inspired prophets, and perhaps by the name *Baxox* (*O.I.G.* 163), as well as the Illyrian *Baxoxus*, *Baxulus* and *Bacoxox*. *Bepos* (compare *Bippos*, *J.H.S.* viii. p. 251), is a Phrygian (Milyan) name from the Ormelian district, with no Lycian affinities, but no doubt connected with the probably Maeonian *Bappos*.¹³⁰

Another name from the same region, *Bidlos*,¹³¹ is rightly claimed as Phrygian by Sir William Ramsay. It is from the same stem as the Paphlagonian *Bellaros* at Sinope (Strabo, p. 548), which is connected by Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 94, with the Paphlagonian river *Bidlaos* and the proper names *Bellaneos* and *Bellanej*. *Bidlos* is also found in Cilicia, as well as

¹²⁴ The change of *b* to *m* in Thracian, especially where, as in a suffix, it is well-established (Kretschmer, p. 220). The substitution of a Greek *tt* for a foreign *B* is not uncommon in regions bordering on Persia. The people of *Sparta* in Thrace were also called *Pantidei*; the Macedonian *Hippous* is almost certainly for *Bopy*: *Gakken* represents a Macedonian *Bekkes* (L. & S. s.v.). Mt. *Bilas* on the Epirrotic frontier is also called *Baxos*. On the Asiatic side we find *Baxoxos* for *Baxoxos* in a Lydian bilingual at Pergamum, *Baryos* for *Baryos*, *Hedoxa* for *Baxoxa*, and other instances.

¹²⁵ Some hold that the Pierians were a colony from Phrygia, others that the Phrygians were a colony from Pieria (Strabo, p. 831). The Mygdonians, from whom a Phrygian tribe was descended, were a people of Pieria (Pliny iv. 10). Herodotus believed that the Pierians were descended from Trojans, by which he meant *Dardanians*, as appears from ii. 111 and 118; from a comparison of vii. 29 with v. 18 it is to be inferred that Myrmes were mixed with these Pierians. Hellanicus (fr. 46) says that in the time of Mardon, son of Aegeus, the Myrmes were the only inhabitants of the country besides the *Maeonians*. The true country of the

European Myrmes or *Messians* was the district about *Rhium*. There they bordered on *Quandarland*, whom they probably accompanied or followed in their migrations. The neighbour-hood of the Dardanians on the south and south-east was *Paeonia*.

¹²⁶ Strabo, p. 552. The derivation of *Begalonia* in Cappadocia is dubious.

¹²⁷ On this disputed name, see Kretschmer, p. 168. Top's objection to the derivation from *barys*, on account of the suffix, does not seem to me so irresistible as to Kretschmer. For several parallel cases are found in Asia Minor, as *Zemur* *Burrus* by the side of *Baxos* (*ibid.* p. 120), the goddess *Azura* by the side of *Baxos* (Pawly-Wimowa, s.v. *Azura*), and possibly *Zellos* by the side of *Baxos* (Kretschmer, p. 166), and *Kassabos* by the side of *Baxos* (*ibid.* p. 251).

¹²⁸ *Lithanius*, in *Sordis*, vol. vi., pl. 4, p. 30.

¹²⁹ It is uncertain if the Cilician local name *Baxos* (Hammon, *Hist. Geog.* p. 286) has any connection with this.

¹³⁰ Hoffmann, *Die Hukitonen*, p. 53. The name occurs at Phrygia, but the bearers were not natives.

¹³¹ Genius of *BAXOS*, according to Sandwall, p. 61.

Βάλλος, which is incorrectly described as Lycean.¹¹⁰ The last form occurs in the epitaph of a little boy, whose parents had given him the name of Συρήδημος, but everyone else called him Βάλλος. The word was evidently significant, and might easily be taken to mean 'darling' connected with φίλος.¹¹¹

The town of *Bapte* in Pisidia bore a Phrygian name which is found also in Hellenistic Phrygia quite outside the region of Lycean affinities. It is also Illyrian, for it was the older name of the Messapian *Veretum*, and appears in the Peucetian *Beratum*, and possibly in the Dalmatian *Beriduvium*. From the same stem is probably derived the Lycaonian *Buretus*, *Burutto*, or *Buretta*, and the Lydian *Buretu*, which again resemble the Italian-Illyrian *Baptrtor*, compare also the Phrygian *Bapsevnia*.

The Pisidian *Borbor* seems to have no affinities in southern or southwestern Asia Minor, nor apparently in Phrygia. It closely resembles the Venetic *boχes* (*Bogas*) and *boχkno[s]*¹¹² (*Boknos*, cf. Krusehmer, p. 269). If these are really Celtic names, as Pauli infers from the comparison of *Bogonius* (iii. 350), it is possible that *Borbor* may be borrowed from Galatia. But it is not at all certain that *Bogies*, *Buckles*, *Buctor*, *Bucto*, *Bureo*, and other names from *Buc*, common in Pannonia and Noricum,¹¹³ are not genuinely Illyrian, as *Bucrin* appears more than once in Dalmatia.

There remain a few names in which an initial *B* arises out of an original *F* (*w*). Such a change is quite unknown in Lycaea but in Phrygia it is both well-established and ancient.¹¹⁴ It is not due to Greek transliteration, for in that case it would equally affect the rendering of the Lycaean *w*. It occurs also in Thracian, where -*ava* often turns into -*baβa*. The towns of *Bretas* or *Verbas*¹¹⁵ and *Hindu* or *Vinda*¹¹⁶ were both within the old boundaries of Phrygia. The Isaurian *Berulus*, for the commoner *Osanales*, has no resemblance to anything in Lycaea, and little to anything in southern or western Asia Minor.¹¹⁷ It may be connected with Illyrian names, *Vana*, *Vanova* and *Vomania*, to which the Venetic *vantes* is apparently related (Pauli, iii. p. 308). The Isaurian or Cilician *Berry* may be compared with

¹¹⁰ Cf. L. 17, 432; see also Aldenio, Müller, who found this inscription among Thunfort's papers, evidently misread Chalcedon, by which Bochart meant Calepolis (Karaman), p. 194, for Chalcedon. No account remains seem to have been found by Steinkopf or those later writers (p. 15), but he noted inscriptions at Calepolis (p. 20). This particular one seems to have been copied at Calepolis by those other travellers (C.L.G., iii. p. 1072).

¹¹¹ It may be borrowed from the Greek, like the Macedonian *Barbar* for *Homer*. Such a change could not take place in Lycaean, which had no initial *B*, and would tend to prove that Phrygian was spoken at Calepolis. But it is more probable that a Macedonian colony was at some period settled there, and retained traces of its original

dialect in colloquial phrases. If so, *Balox* has no direct connexion with the Phrygian *Balate*, which in that case may be better compared with the Illyrian, Venetic *gabu* (aker), Pannonician *Röde*, Messapian *Gla*, *hallo*, etc. (Pauli, iii. 344).

¹¹² Pauli, iii. p. 344.

¹¹³ See the index to C.L.G., iii.

¹¹⁴ As in *Dasklos* for *Dača* (Steinkopf, p. 192).

¹¹⁵ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 324.

¹¹⁶ Ramsay, op. cit. p. 333.

¹¹⁷ The Isaurian or Cilician *Berry* may be for *Vasi*, but in a native Pisidian inscription (Ramsay, *Recueil des Inscriptions de Mysie*, i. p. 266, No. 19) *Oos No Balatu* should probably be read, not *Oosari*.

the Messapians **opōrēs* and probably with the Venetic **opōrēs* (*ibid.*).¹²³ The Carian proper name *Boparbers* is evidently identical with the Lycian *Oparēs*, which also appears in Lycania as *Oparēs*, and in Isauria as *Oparēs*, *Oparēs*, and *Oparōtās*. These are all originally ethnics, meaning 'a man of the tribe of the *Oparēs*', on the borders of Lycania and Pisidia,¹²⁴ and the variant forms make it clear that they represent a common *oparē-* or *oparō-*. It seems almost certain that this mountain-tribe must derive its name from *ope-*, mountain, which was a Phrygian word (p. 56), in the same way as the Epirctic '*Opētai*', and the *Oreōtai* of the Paeanian Mt. Pangaeum.¹²⁵

It has seemed desirable to examine every example of initial *B* quoted from the area in which languages akin to the Lycian are supposed to have been spoken when these names were in use in their native form. They offer a convenient test, as in this case the distinction between Lycian and Phrygian is particularly clear. The result seems to me to be that they are all shown to be Phrygian. Their distribution therefore gives valuable evidence about the relative extension of the two languages at the time when they were superseded by Greek in the several provinces.

Taking the index to Sundwall's book as a basis,¹²⁶ it is necessary to strike out various names which are Greek or completely hellenised, and others which do not belong to Asia Minor. Names beginning with *Ba*, *Bp*, and *Bd* must also be omitted,¹²⁷ in which the *B* sometimes certainly is, and always may be due to the Greek transliteration. Three quoted from Cappadocia must not be counted, as no attempt is made to give a full list in the case of that country. There remain seventy-seven names with initial *B*. Of these, nineteen are either described as Phrygian or come from the Phrygian part of Milyas, west of the Ascanium lake, or from Phrygia Παρόπετος:¹²⁸ both districts are reckoned to Pisidia, according to the late Roman usage. Of the rest, sixteen belong to Caria, fourteen to Lycania and Isauria,¹²⁹ ten to Cilicia, six to Lydia, five to Pisidia, three to Cabalia, two to Pamphylia, and two to Lycia. If the commonness of particular names and their relative number in proportion to the known total is considered, the figure in the case of Lycania and Isauria must be considerably raised, on account of the frequent occurrence of *Ba* and *Bopēs*.

¹²³ On p. 250, Paul says that the Venetic name is Danish, on account of resemblance to Celtic names formed with *bar-*. But the Messapian form *opōrēs* is equivalent in that way, and there are many resemblances between Celtic and Illyrian names which are due to relationship, not to borrowing (ibid.).

¹²⁴ See Ramsey, *Hist. Geog.* p. 298. There is no sufficient reason to suppose that *Oparēs* (Hall, *Classical Review*, xii, p. 276) is synonymous with '*Opōrēs*'. The supposed assimilation of *o* (Kretschmer, p. 297) depends on a mistaken identification of *Tyndaris* near

Myra in Lycia with *Telmessos* in Pamphylia. The two places had the name in common, but not the article.

¹²⁵ P. 37.

¹²⁶ P. 15, note 1.

¹²⁷ P. 26, note 21.

¹²⁸ The number of examples in Phrygia is of course far greater. The author's object was only to include such names from Phrygia as he believed to be of Lydian or kindred origin. For the districts mentioned, see pp. 48 and 58, note 102.

¹²⁹ Names from Isauria proper are to be distinguished from those of Lycania.

Lycian possessed no aspirated consonants.¹²⁵ Except in hellenised names, χ is almost entirely absent in southern and western Asia Minor, and φ is exceedingly rare. There is no good evidence that either of these sounds existed in Phrygian any more than in Lyrian. But it is clear that Phrygian had a θ, arising out of a τ followed by a consonant (Latin f), which is also found in some dialects at least of Thracian and Illyrian. In Messapian t before i regularly turns to θ, and the i, when followed by another vowel, disappears, as in *Baledus* on coins of Baletum, *Avidos*¹²⁶ (compare the Pegean gen. *Avidiss*); the t is often doubled, as in *Blaθθi*, genitive of **Blaθθos*, in Latin letters *Blaθtius*. In transcriptions into Latin this θ is rendered by t, but in Greek it is sometimes preserved. It is also found before e, as in *Ortoires*, but here also the e may disappear, as in *Ortois*, and in the Latin form *Tutoris*,¹²⁷ as well as in the Noric *Tutor* and *Tuturia*, the Venetic *Tutriens*, and the Pannonian *Tutia*.¹²⁸ — *Tutius* occurs also among the Paemium-Dentheletae.¹²⁹ But in the Illyrian *Tvora* the e remains. In Thrace *Tvota* is found for *Tvora*. Similar forms appear in Phrygia and on its borders. The word *tentous* or *tentor* in the late native inscriptions seems to be connected on the one hand with the Phrygian proper name *Gavθtov*, the Isaurian *Gouθov*, and the Lycian *Gouθov*, and on the other with the Isaurian *Tovtys*. In the same way the Phrygian town of *Tvora* is written also as *Tevira*.

The form *Tat-tis* which appears in Lycia,¹³⁰ but is evidently foreign, with the Isaurian *Gouθov* and *Gouθov*, cannot be separated from the common Phrygian names in *Tat-*. It has an exact parallel in the Thracian *Quandov*, which itself is formed from the Dacian *Tatitus*,¹³¹ but the feminine *Tata* is also found in Thrace as well as *Tatas* and *Tatiza*.¹³² *Tatius* and *Tatina* occur in Dalmatia, *Tatula* in Pannonia, and *Tatius* and *Tatina* in Noricum.¹³³

¹²⁵ In J. H. S. xxxi, p. 166, I have shown that the supposed θ in Lyrian is a sibilant.

¹²⁶ For the Messapian names see Demetra Rizzo-Muraro, xxviii, where many other examples are given. For the Latin equivalents, see the index to Conway, *The Dialec. Dialect.*, vol. II. The same change in Thracian is proved by the names *Biles*, *Bates*, *Bilez*, *Centus*, *-eratas*, *-eratas*; *Cosq*, *Gatis*, *-atis*, *Laster*, and other examples.

¹²⁷ In some cases the Mysian ο certainly represents ε, which is otherwise wanting in the inscriptions, and it may be questioned whether it does not always do so, as an original ε regularly turns to ο; Kretschmar, p. 263, holds that ε stands for ο in some instances.

¹²⁸ Pauli, iii, pp. 374, 377, 383, and 388.

¹²⁹ Tomashoff, II, 2, p. 28.

¹³⁰ All names in Lycia containing θ are either hellenised or unquestionably foreign, except *Barbaris*. This should very probably

be derived into Bas-Buris, II, which was the name, who may have been descended from Phrygian immigrants, both a Lycian as well as a Phrygian name. *Tarsa* and all the related names mentioned as Phrygian origin, as they are common in all parts of that country, but are of the greatest rarity in Lydia and Cilicia. None of the examples quoted by Krueger and Sandwall, where the place of discovery is given, are found in Lycia proper except *Tarsa*, which in Ionic Greek (see p. 23, note 23), and *Tarsara*, of which the transcription at least is hellenised. The native name (*tarmpa*) is correctly divided by Sandwall (p. 210) *ta-mpa*, and probably has no connexion with *Tarsa*.

¹³¹ Tomashoff, II, 2, p. 28.

¹³² *Tatita*, from Scythia (Kretschmar, p. 248) — that is, Upper Russia, is probably Thracian.

¹³³ Pauli, iii, pp. 380, 387, 392, 394, 395,

But the Messapian *Gatōr*, for **Tintor* or **Tector*, resembles the Phrygian forms.

In these names the *i* appears to be an inserted letter, the stem being originally *Tut-*. This raises the question whether the same insertion has taken place in the case of *Tut-* in the similar names already mentioned. The derivation of *Gatōrres* from **Teytis*, people, is made questionable, not only by the analogy of *Gatōr* but by the occurrence in Messapian of the name *Tau(n)ahai(h)* (for *Tant-*), which cannot well be separated from the Dacian *Tintomedes*.¹⁴ This comparison makes it probable that in Illyrian and in Thracian *tout-* turned into *tent-*. It is perhaps better to class the names *Tut-*, *Tint-*, *Tent-*, and *Gat-*¹⁵ with the Illyrian *Totti*, *Tatia*, and *Tottula*, and derive them all from the baby-name *Tatrys*, *Tatryc*, and similar forms, just as *Tut-*, *Tint-*, and *Gat-* are related to *Tatrys* and its variants, which are to *Tatrys* and *Tatryc* as *Nareas* to *Narros* and *Norros*, and *Δαδας* to *Δαδα* and *Δαδει*.¹⁶ The Paphlagonian *Θες* may be derived through **Tintos* from an unreduplicated form of the same name, like *Bax* for *Baxas* and *Tne* for *Tatras*. With this the Phrygian local name *Ghouta* may be connected.

The Phrygian local name *Tetba* or *Gebla*, for *Terria*, the town of *Tatrys*, shows that *t* may turn into *θ* before *e* as well as *u*; as in Illyrian. The termination is formed as in the Messapian *Blat(h)i* already mentioned. The Lycaonian town of *Bdapat(h)a* or *Būpato* with the same suffix shows Illyrian affinities in the stem also.¹⁷

The Isaurian proper name *Says* is probably for **Tatrys* and allied to the Phrygian *Tat[sa]* for **Tintor*.¹⁸ The Paphlagonian town of *Tlesos* (for **Tector*) seems to be connected with the proper name *Tibias* (for **Tintos*) very common in that country.¹⁹

¹⁴ The derivation of this name from *tant* (Tomaschek, II, 2) is considered unlikely by Kretschmer, p. 228. Compare the Lithuanian *tauna*, country. Philpon, *Les Slaves*, p. 25, quotes several names formed from *tout-*: in Spain, quotes the Aramaean proper name *Tatridas*, which may be taken as evidence with regard to the Phrygian forms, if the relationship between these two languages is real (Kretschmer, p. 227).

¹⁵ In that case the Lithuanian *baud* and *bas* for *Tintor*, and *Taz* would be analogous to the European-Baltic *Thilis* (from, *mies*, *Jahresheft*, IV, Balditt, p. 83), as compared with the Lycaonian *Terru* (Kretschmer, p. 249), Illyrian *Tintos*, etc.; see C.I.L. II. Index. Cf. also the Thracian *Sob*, *sava* (Tomaschek, II, 2, p. 48) and *Obz*—*obz* (ibid. p. 57) with *Tatryc* and *Susat(h)a*.

¹⁶ The Phrygian 'youth,' *Tereus* and *Oene*, who brought the mysterious *apo* of the Celts to Attica in a cloud and introduced their worship into Miletus, were evidently the two male Celts themselves, the son and

father, *F.H.O.* III, 288. *Oene*, *Norse*, and *Nava* are the masculine forms of *Aene*, *Aene*, and *Nava*, variant-names derived from the mother-goddess, *Aphrodite Nava* (Kretschmer, p. 223). *Oene* was her mate, the father-god. *Tereus*, like *Terru*, is a variant of the name of her son, *Arras*, who is identical with *Arras*.

The words *arras* or *arras* pose yet another difficult riddle. In a late Phrygian epitaph (*J.H.S.* XXII, p. 381; cf. p. 182) do not seem to be connected with the name which precedes them. But *arras* should represent the Greek *agoraios*, and *U* or *u*, *arras* probably refers to the great man, and the phrase either commands him to the favour, or disclaims him as the favourite, of some god. *Tereus* in that case would be the son-god *Tatrys*.

¹⁷ See p. 47.

¹⁸ *J.H.S.* XIII, p. 418. The name may more probably be *Tintor*, nature (sunrise) from **Tintos*.

¹⁹ Strabo, p. 304.

The Paphlagonian name *Thugs* (*Oouos* for **Tūos*)¹²⁴ seems to be related to the Lydian *Tūos* (for **Tūios*), which is identical with the Illyrian *Tūia* (Pauli, iii, p. 369); *Tūo* (p. 370) and *Tūllas* (p. 357) are also Illyrian. The Isaurian *Oouos*, and possibly the Lycian *Oouos* and the Pisidian and Cabean (not Lycian) *Oouos*,¹²⁵ may be connected with *Thugs*.

In southern and western Asia Minor names containing *θ* are rare. In the index to Sundwall's work, when those which are manifestly hellenised¹²⁶ are excluded, there remain thirty-three at most. Of these fifteen are found in Lycia and Isauria,¹²⁷ where Phrygian was, I believe, certainly spoken;¹²⁸ eleven belong to Caria,¹²⁹ Lydia and Cilicia,¹³⁰ in which the sound was certainly foreign, have each one; three are in Pisidia and two in Lydia, but it may be doubted whether all of these are really native. The evidence of the native alphabets coincides closely with that which is given by the distribution of these names, and it may be concluded that the Greek transliteration really represents the original sounds. For in the Lydian as well as the Lycian there is no sign for *θ*, but in the Carian the letter is present in shape and presumably also in sound. It occurs in the late Phrygian inscriptions, not only in borrowed Greek but also in apparently native words.¹³¹ On the ancient native monuments it does not appear, but its absence may easily be accidental, and it was certainly present in the alphabet, since it is found in the foreign inscription of Lemnos.¹³²

In summing up the results of this long discussion, it becomes very evident that Phrygian influence is far more predominant on the northern side of Mt. Taurus than on the southern coast. The contrast with Lycian in all phonetic peculiarities and the agreement with Phrygian make it almost

¹²⁴ Kreuzer, p. 267.

¹²⁵ These may be hellenised, to resemble the Greek *Oouos*. There is also a Lydian name *Gouos*, of which the stem is found in *Egouos* and the Pisidian *Koūos*, etc. The resemblance to the Paphlagonian and Illyrian names is, I believe, merely a coincidence. The Cilician *Bappatas* must on the other hand be considered as a Phrygian name, not only because the first part is Phrygian, not Lydian (see above, p. 59), but also because the change of *t* to *θ* is foreign to Cilicia as well as to Lydia; no other Cilician name contains a *θ*, except the Phrygian *Botas* (see p. 55).

¹²⁶ Such as *Alaksas*, *Baras*, *Bepa*, *Bupis*, *Opelates*, etc., etc.

¹²⁷ *Mallos*, *Mellos*, *Merros*, *Pax*, *Apas*, *Bor*, *Syndos*, *Bur*, *Isar*, already discussed (Bücher p. 30), *Bakellis* (p. 58), *Bapatas* (p. 52). All these appear to be Phrygian names. *Mallos* and *Isar* (if correct) may be Phrygian adaptations of Lycian names, but the evidence is insufficient. *Bopas* is probably hellenised on the model of *Oouos*.

¹²⁸ See p. 68.

¹²⁹ Bücker (p. 69), *Bugras* (third), *Isar*, and the local names *Baraps*, *Syndos*; *Thymias*, *Thlasias*, and *Zemales* even native. *Bopas*, *Ophobous*, and *Bor* may be partly hellenised. *Becchares* is omitted.

¹³⁰ *Chaz* (p. 63) and *Barypon* (p. 68). *Beris* and *Balis* should be added (p. 55).

¹³¹ J.H.S. 1921 pp. 161 (25), No. xxxi, xviii, and (possibly) 127. The borrowed *Bataps* (No. ix.) goes far to prove that the word was written as in other languages *θ* in words taken from the Greek usually appears as *t*. The frequent substitution by native emigrants of *θ* for *t* in writing Greek (cf. p. 211) suggests that they were accustomed to such a substitution in their own language. In Lydia, where there was no *θ*, such an item (i.e. I believe, unknown till it is certainly most exemplified).

¹³² The alphabet in this is not merely similar but identical, and unless the Phrygians obtained theirs from Lemnos, which is most unlikely, they must themselves have taken it from the Greek parent-alphabet, presumably because they required it.

certain that a Phrygian dialect was spoken in Lycania and Isauria. The conclusion is confirmed by the prevalence of names like *Ba*, *Babere*, and *Mare*, and by the occurrence with the same extraordinary frequency as in Phrygia itself of *Hattus*, *Ateria*, and similar forms which do not belong to Lycia. If frequency of repetition is reckoned as well as the number of distinct names the nomenclature is Phrygian in a large majority of instances, and even if this be disregarded, the cases of Phrygian affinity are still in excess.¹⁷⁹ This is true of local as well as personal names.¹⁸⁰

In Cilicia, on the contrary, the great majority of names of both classes are manifestly Lycian. But it is very doubtful if only Lycian was spoken there at the time when Greek superseded the native dialects. Not only is the number of Phrygian names far greater than in Lycia, but those of native origin often shew signs of Phrygian influence in the lengthening of *e*, the doubling of *r*, and the change of *d* into *z*.¹⁸¹ Some local names are not Lycian, but Phrygian.¹⁸² It is probable that, besides numerous immigrants, there were settlements or colonies where Phrygian was spoken, but there is no evidence that the native language was entirely displaced by it.

In Pisidia the population was probably mixed. Names of the Lycaean type seem to predominate in the southern part of the country, but even then they are mingled with others like *Mare*, *Marec*, and *Marecas*, *Kottos* and *Kotoss*, *Asos*, etc., which are certainly Phrygian. The same may be said of the local names *Bapis*,¹⁸³ *Pazura*,¹⁸⁴ *Misessa*,¹⁸⁵ and *Ard-Boupa*.¹⁸⁶ The native inscriptions¹⁸⁷ are too brief to give any certain information, but in the two grammatical points which seem fairly clear, the language apparently agrees with Lycian.

In Panophylia, though some of the inscriptions in the local Greek dialect contain names which are not Greek, hardly any of these are akin to the Lycian, and the Lycian type is generally rare. There are about an equal number of Phrygian proper names. Among local names *Hepyn* is probably

¹⁷⁹ As a test I have taken at random fifty names from J.H.S. viii., xxii., xxiv., and xxv., and R.C.H. i., which happened to be at hand. Of these seventeen are certainly or probably allied to the Lycaean and twenty three to the Phrygian; ten are doubtful.

¹⁸⁰ *Kotops*, *Kolbera*, and *Tantra* have the same ending as *Anterpa* and *Theropysa* in the region of the Phrygian Antiæolis, Sestra and *Kaisarga* in Thrace, *Batanespa* in Upper Moesia or Dardania, and *Anterpa* in Illyria. *Syros* is synonymous with *Durka* in Illyria, and probably with the Thracian *Zapba* and *Zerme*. *Baper* has also an Illyrian name (p. 63). No local name has any special Lycaean affinities, unless it be *Kaparanda*.

¹⁸¹ See pp. 64 and 65.

¹⁸² At *Bazella* (note 63), *Bardos* (note 92), and possibly *Besa* (note 137). 'Are-Cappa'

seems to be compounded from the Thracian *Zapba* with the preposition *de*. The older name *Kobla* is Lycaean.

¹⁸³ P. 63.

¹⁸⁴ P. 64.

¹⁸⁵ The name is probably formed in the Phrygian way (p. 47) from a proper name *Messos* or *Messos* (p. 61), slightly hellenised.

¹⁸⁶ Probably from *Asos* and *boupa*, 'house'; see Ptole. p. 63.

¹⁸⁷ *Kamasi*, *Kemis* (see *Universitas ex Mith.* i. p. 356). Sundwall is, I believe, right in stating (p. 23) that the nominative both in masculine and feminine names ends in a vowel, and that the genitive ends in -e in both genders. In both these points Phidian agrees with Lycaean, for the Lycaean 'genitive' in -e represents as earlier -e (J.H.S. xxix. p. 108). If there is no grammatical gender, the agreement is more significant.

Phrygian,¹⁰⁰ and Ὀλυμπος (p. 48) should be included in Pamphylia. The historical evidence that Milyas was a Phrygian district (p. 48) is entirely confirmed by the proper names found in the territory of the Ὀλυμπος, which was certainly in Milyas.¹⁰¹

The names of the cities Βασιαρ and Βιλδαρα are sufficient evidence of a Phrygian population in Cappadocia (pp. 56 and 57).

The evident relationship to the Lycian of a great proportion of Carian names, personal and local, has established a presumption that the languages were nearly connected. It might well be supposed that the existence of a large number of Carian inscriptions would determine this question beyond dispute. But it must be admitted that they cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. Even the intuition of Professor Sayce has only been able to determine the value of a few letters with real certainty. In other cases it has to be assumed that they have the same sound as those letters of the Greek alphabet which they most resemble. This method is always uncertain, and in this instance it leads to results which may fairly be called impossible. In the Carian alphabet there is no letter corresponding in shape to the Greek ε. Both κ and τ are so rare that their existence is doubtful; and the same may be said of both labials β and π.¹⁰² All these sounds are abundantly present in the Carian proper names preserved in Greek inscriptions, whether of Lycian or Phrygian affinities, and they are common in both those languages themselves. The inference seems unavoidable that the Greek alphabet is not a reliable guide.¹⁰³ As in most cases we have no other, the value of the Carian letters remains too uncertain to allow the inscriptions to be used as positive evidence. A negative conclusion may possibly be drawn. If the proper names in which they chiefly consist corresponded to those of Lycian origin which abound in the Greek inscriptions of the province, or with the native Lycian, they could hardly fail to be recognisable, and the alphabet would then be decipherable without difficulty. But after every possible value for the many uncertain letters has been tried, no such correspondence appears, and it seems to me almost certain that the relationship does not exist in the great majority of examples.¹⁰⁴

The only grammatical point known with any kind of certainty is that

¹⁰⁰ The derivation from θρηγ is just now temporally probable to be easily set aside; see p. 62, note 522.

¹⁰¹ The list of nearly thirty names given by Gougenot, *Atlas des Régions*, t. I, p. 214, contains six or seven which seem to be of Lycian origin. The remainder are, I believe, rightly claimed by him as Phrygian.

¹⁰² In the inscriptions published by Sayce in *S.R.E., Transactions*, ix., and *Persicorum*, xxii., xxiii., and xxv., it only occurs in xxx., No. viii. (if this is Carian). A letter β, which is taken to be β, is found twice, i.e.—I. 1 and II. 6, but in the name μαι, in which elsewhere it is replaced by the vowel Ω (e.g. II.

I. 2). It is found in ix. 1, 2; xxvi. 6, 12; and xxx. 1. But in all cases the writing is so irregular that exceptional forms are suspicious.

¹⁰³ The Carian alphabet appears side by side with the Ionic at Abu Simbel, already fully developed and no unlike any Greek alphabet so to indicate a separate evolution of some duration. It must therefore be derived from a very primitive form of the Greek.

¹⁰⁴ The common name occurring in various forms at least seven times, and one of the most fugitive, is Μύρων —, which resembles the Venetic (Illyrian) name, Paul, ill. p. 225.

the genitive of proper names generally ends in a vowel Ω, which interchanges with ε, and is taken by Soyer to be a kind of ε, and by Kretschmer to be a kind of ο.¹⁰¹ The Lycian genitive (so-called) ends, on the contrary, in -h (also -he, rarely -hi) in proper names, which almost certainly represents an earlier ε, -ε, -η.¹⁰² The discrepancy is explained by Kretschmer on the hypothesis that the Carian Ω is a form of the ending which is commonly rendered by -Ωθε, and sometimes appears in words which may be patronymics. He supposes an apocope of the -e, followed by a loss of the sound of -h. Apart from several difficulties in this theory,¹⁰³ it seems almost certain to me that the letter which is taken to be h is really i. For, since in the Greek renderings of names in Caria, τ is one of the commonest consonants, it seems impossible to doubt that it was present in the native alphabet, and if so, it can only be represented by this supposed h,¹⁰⁴ which commonly appears as Χ. In the inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, which are presumably the most archaic, this letter has the form ξ, and especially in No. 3 the lower limb is distinctly the longer. It is identical in shape with the τ of the ancient Campano-Etruscan and other Italic alphabets, which in this respect are more archaic than the Greek, and preserve the original Phoenician form nearly as in the Beal-Lebanon fragments. Signs of great archaism are naturally to be expected in the Carian letters. It is probable that the ending in question should be read as -εις, and compared with the demotic Μενετηρι; and the phyle of Ταρβειαται. As these seem to be in form patronymics,¹⁰⁵ the native Carian words may be so also. It is also probable that the common genitive ends in -η,¹⁰⁶ and has no connexion at all with the Lycian ending in -h.

If the Carian inscriptions differ so widely from the Lycian as they seem to do in their language and in the names which they contain, the question arises why so large a proportion of the proper names found in the Greek inscriptions of the country are of Lycian derivation. The explanation is that these happen to come chiefly from a district of which the population is said on good authority to have been distinctively Lycian. Apostolides, accounting for the absence in Homer of some of the known names of rivers in Asia Minor,

¹⁰¹ Kretschmer, p. 282. The theory of Sandwall that it is a guttural is, in my opinion, untenable: J.H.S. xxvii. p. 104.

¹⁰² In this respect the Phidian would agree with it (p. 90). The Lydian has a patronymic in -ε, quite unlike the Carian, and unknown in Lydian. It has also, I believe, an ethne in -η, equally foreign to Lydian. But the subject of Lydian cannot at present be discussed, as the material is largely unpublished.

¹⁰³ If my suggestion is right that the Lycian h represents an earlier ε, and that the change was still in progress about n.c. 200 (J.H.S. xxv., p. 103), it would be surprising that it should appear in Carian at Abu-Simbel about

300 years earlier. Another difficulty is the great frequency of ε in the native and Greek inscriptions.

¹⁰⁴ The letter which has the shape of θ is probably required for that sound, and is very easily confused enough for τ, and the same may conveniently be said of certain consonants of unknown value.

¹⁰⁵ From proper names Φενειος (Feneis), cf. μενειος and αρενειος) and Σιγλεας (Σιγλειος, cf. σιγλη and Καρνη Αρησιη). The names are Lydian, but the suffix -ης is quite unknown in that language.

¹⁰⁶ The Carian letter Υ may not be = H, might, for instance, be i.

mountains that some were omitted because they had not yet settled in the districts which they afterwards occupied, and others 'because they were comprised in other tribes, as the Lycians and Termilae among the Carians, and the Doliques and Bebrycees among the Phrygians.'²⁰⁰ No one can suppose that that marvel of erudition²⁰¹ was ignorant of the identity of the Termilae with the Lyceans, who were certainly not omitted by Homer. He undoubtedly refers to an *enclava* of Lyceans in Carian territory, whose existence was so well known that their absence in the *Iliad* required explanation. Stephanus no doubt means the same settlement when he speaks of a *Tēppa* in Caria, which he takes to be identical with Tēpsepa (meaning *Tēppa*).²⁰² The near connexion of the Termelians with the Lyceans is recorded in a mythic form by Philip of Theangela (a neighbouring town), in his book on the Carians and Leleges, who says that Termelus and Lycaus were Leleges, and the first to practise piracy, not only on the coast of Caria but crossing over to Cos on rafts; Termelus founded the town of Tēppapor.²⁰³ The myth is purely local, and Lycaus is probably the eponymus of local Aduor; the Termilae of Apollodorus.²⁰⁴ In using the term Leleges, Philip concurs with Simbo, when he talks of Leleges expelled by Achilles from the Troad, who founded eight towns near Halicarnassus.²⁰⁵ It is more than doubtful if the name was in actual use in historic times; but there is no reason to question another statement of Philip that the Carians, both in antiquity and in his own day, used the Leleges as servants (*slaves*), like the Helots in Laconia and the Peisetas in Thessaly.²⁰⁶ He evidently refers to the same Lycean population as in the former passage, and

на Сицилию, р. 879, док че египетският цар
започва да изпраща мъници в Египет. Когато
започват да се издават в Египетския фунт.

²⁰ "Ammobius & *campestris*, St. Ry.
i.e. "Spuds." He appears to have been also
one of the most and most singular of animal
writers, as might be expected of the pupil of
Aristotle and fellow of Extatethene.

² The figure of Stephanus in Lydius is not an error, but a reference to Antiphilus of Myra (P.H.G. vii p. 260), whom he quotes elsewhere (e.g. Melissus and Alcibiades). The style probably refers to the formulation of Patara (cf. St. Byz. 22 "Axiom").

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²⁴ In *J.H.S.* xvi p. 207, the Tegulae of Stephanus is identified with a town at Tremiti. It is very probable that his tentative identification with Teposa is wrong, but possibly the name of the island rather than a town may have survived at Tremiti! The archaeology of the region is discussed in two valuable articles by Paron and Meroz in *J.H.S.* xvi.

In P. 611. In those earlier days they spread and multiplied greatly, between 7 & 10 mil. Eusebius says that in his time the Jews

the Leleges and Apollodorus' story. He certainly means that this dispersal took place in prehistoric times. Therefore, when he goes on to say that all of the eight tribes were joined to Hellenes by Minos, he cannot imply, as is commonly supposed, that they were then inhabited by a people bearing the name of Leleges. The whole story, which is a continuous narrative, seems to come from the Homeric commentary of the notoriously untrustworthy Callisthenes (Strabo, pp. 689, 344, etc.), who told a similar legend about the expulsion of the Homeric Cilicians and their migration to Pamphylia (ibid. p. 667). Eratosthenes (Phiz., v. 20) described this Leleges as an 'extinct race,' and it may be noted that Apollodorus does not mention them among the historical peoples of Asia Minor. If Herodotus had known of existing Leleges over his native town, distinct from the Carians, he could hardly have speculated on the relative accuracy of Cretan and Carian myths about their identity (H. 173). It is, in fact, evident that he considered them extinct as a people.

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though the name by which he calls them is probably a piece of archaeology,²⁰⁶ he must certainly have known the facts. The 'Iēpēts of Apollodorus formed another *εποίησις* in Carian territory. They were the inhabitants of the 'Iēpēts *χωρῆ* of Herodotus (v. 118), in the upper valley of the Mansys, the territory of the later Stratonicea. According to Apollonius (a learned Greek from Egypt, who settled at Aphrodisias and wrote on the archaeology of Caria),²⁰⁷ Iēpēts was a city founded by Lycians and originally named *Xrysoura*.²⁰⁸ Afterwards (as we are told unquestionably on the same authority)²⁰⁹ it was named Iēpēts, after Idrius the son of Car, meaning that it came into the possession of the Carians. The relationship of the original population to the Lycians was recorded in the genealogy which made Chrysaur the brother of Bellotophon. He was also the father of Melasos, the founder of Mylasa,²¹⁰ which was apparently in tradition once a Lycian town.

It is evident that the Iēpēts, as well as the Tēpēts, of Apollodorus were held to be of Lycian descent, and we especially records that they were a different race (*τέρπον γένος*) from the Carians. To them, no doubt, Herodotus particularly refers (i. 171) when he says that all those who, though of another race, were speakers of the same language as the Carians were excluded from the temple of the Carian Zeus at Mylasa. If so, it would appear that, though they had lost their original language along with their independence, they were still a distinct people.

It so happens that our knowledge of Carian proper names was originally based and still largely depends on an inscription containing about eighty from the district of Halicarnassus,²¹¹ and on others from the same region. Among these there is a small proportion (probably about 10 per cent.) related to the Phrygian, but the great majority are of Lycian origin as far as the stem is concerned. Phonetically, however, they show marked differences from the Lycian, and seem to approximate to the Phrygian. This is exactly what might be expected if a population which remained essentially Lycian (as this seems to have done) became politically subject to a race of Phrygian invaders and acquired their language.

The words of Herodotus may be taken in evidence against the relationship of the Carians to the Lykians. But the statement which he reports about the brotherhood of the Carians, Lydians and Mysians is ambiguous,

²⁰⁶ The story about Leleges and Mygones who came *εποίησις* a degraded *εποίησις*. Tzetzes (Plutarch, *Quint. Gr.* 10) represents them as originally invaders. It is frankly archæological, like the legends about the foundation of Aphrodisias by Leleges (St. Byz. s.v. *Nicae* and *Mysia* *τίτλοι*), but may well contain elements of real tradition.

²⁰⁷ St. Byz. *αντ.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* *αντ.* *θεμάτι*. The statements here given without the author's name are ascribed to Apollonius under *Xanthoupolis* and *Ephesus*.

²⁰⁹ St. Byz. *αντ.* *Μύλασος*. The kinship with the Mylaspes which was claimed by the Padians of Termessos (Kretschmer, p. 387) was probably based on a similar ground. The name of Termessos seems to be connected with *τριώνται*, which is, I believe, the adjective corresponding to the substantive *τετταῦται*, 'Lycian.'

²¹⁰ First published by M. Hirschmüller, whose learning continues after the lapse of nearly forty years to throw light on these obscure studies.

since the Mysians were almost certainly of European origin;²¹¹ but their language was a combination of Lydian and Phrygian,²¹² while the Lydian cannot well be an Indo-European language, but seems to have some Indo-European admixture,²¹³ and the nomenclatura is largely Phrygian. Since, however, Carian names also shew a Phrygian element, it is probably this which is common to the three.

In any case, it is quite unsafe to assume that Carian names as a class are allied to the Lycian. The relationship requires to be demonstrated in each individual case. Even in Cilicia and southern Pisidia it can, at most, only be presumed. In all other districts the presumption is the other way. As to any derivation of local names in Greece and the islands from the original language of Asia Minor, if that language is really represented by Lycian nothing is proved by a comparison with any name from any other region, unless it can be shewn to be related to the Lycian. With regard to the suffixes which are held to be specially characteristic, -*ō-* is generally, though not invariably, a proof of Lycian origin; -*σ-* affords no evidence on either side; and -*ο-* in fact denotes a probably native to Phrygia, but not native to Lycia.

W. G. ARKWRIGHT.

²¹¹ Kratochvile, p. 391.

²¹² Xanthus Lydus, frag. 8.

²¹³ Littmann, in *Soden*, vol. II, pp. 5, p. 70.

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

III.

MESSENGIANOZZO MANETTI—if we may give credit to his enthusiastic biographer—was accustomed to say that there were three books which he had got by heart from long handling—Saint Paul's Epistles, Augustine's *Dicitur Dei*, and (among the heathen) Aristotle's *Ethica*.¹ There may be some exaggeration here; but there is no doubt that Manetti, from the beginning to the end of his long literary career, was deeply interested in the moral writings of Aristotle. Vespasiano tells a story of him in the early period of his studies. He used to give a Latin *Ethica* to somebody, and taking the original himself, would recite it off so fast in Latin that his hearer was unable to follow him. I have seen him go through six books in this way, says Vespasiano.² During the last three years of his life, while he was in voluntary exile at Naples, he translated the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemonic* *Ethica* and the *Great Morals*.³ Manetti, like many learned men of that

¹ «Quae dñe, aveva tra' libri a' mouti, per lungo studi: l'uno era l'Epistola di Santo Pagolo; l'altro era Agostino, *Dicitur Dei*, e' de' gentili l'*Ethica* d'Aristotele.» Vespasiano da Bientina, *Vite*, vol. Primi, II, p. 33. Naldo Naldi ('Vita Jacentii Manetti') in Muretto, SS. xx, I repeats the story, vol. 532. In reading the *Dicitur Dei* it is difficult to discern certain faint, at sum costante linea scisa ad verbum edificare, quacunque in illis columnis existenter. . . . Praeterea quae Divus Paulus Epistolas scripsit, & Aristoteles Eticas, ad verbum edificant, membrum commendavit. Naldo's life however is little more than a paraphrase of Vespasiano's and he cannot be treated as an independent authority.

² «Poteva pigliare l'*Ethica* d'Aristotele in latino, et egli pigliava la greca, e leggendo ci diceva in latino tutto sollecito che tutti che faceva in latino non poteva tenere diritto. Voleva imparare libri sei a questo modo» (*Vite*, II, p. 38). Cf. Naldo Naldi in Muretto, SS. xx, col. 532.

³ «Tradusse i *Morali* Morali illi Aristotele a la sua *Ethica*. Poco che non fu mai tradotta, che sono belli sei, che le mandò al Emiliano.

Tradusse la metàde *Ethica ad Nicomachum*, la quale aveva tradotta messer Leonardo! (*Vite*, II, p. 178. Cf. p. 79). Nahli simply paraphrases this (Muretto, SS. xx, col. 509). There is some discrepancy as to the number of the books in Manetti's translation of the *Eudemonic Ethica*. Vespasiano, and after him Naldo, here make it six. In the list of Manetti's works which Vespasiano adds to his shorter life he mentions 'Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Eudemonum libri vii' (*Vite*, II, p. 51). In the list which he adds to the longer life of Manetti, he mentions 'Ethicorum ad Eudemonum lib. viii.' (*Vite*, II, p. 200) and to this he is followed by Nahli (Muretto, SS. xx, col. 507.)

Notice that Vespasiano says that the *Ethica* since Ethics had never been translated. He cannot have known of the translation by Gregory of Città di Castello which I speak of in my first Study. Gregory dedicates this to Nicholas V, and says in his dedication that the translation was made by the Pope's order. It is earlier therefore than the translation by Manetti, who did not settle in Naples till after that Pope's death.

time, was a collector of books. 'He had always employed scribes, both in Greek and in Latin,' says Vespasiano, 'and had books written for him that he did not possess; and bought all that he could in every department. . . . His books were worth several thousand ducats, and he was always buying others, because his intention was to make a library in Florence in the Convent of Santo Spirito. The site was above where the novitiate is. He had studied in that convent, and had a very great love for it. About this he had written before his death to Master Fradet of Santo Spirito. And if he had not died he would certainly have done it, and it would have been a very worthy thing in his memory. . . . To all men time is lacking; they are anticipated by death, which they do not expect. . . . and their successor is not of their mind nor their wish.' Although Manetti's intentions were frustrated—perhaps, as Vespasiano suggests, by the indifference of his heirs—his library was not altogether scattered. A good many of his Greek books have found their way via Heidelberg to the Vatican.¹ It is to one of these that I venture to call the attention of the learned reader, as it partly supports and partly modifies the suggestions which I threw out in the first of these Studies as to the text of the three books which are common to the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemian Ethics*.

I there described three manuscripts of the *Eudemian Ethics* which contain these books. I now have a fourth to add to the number.² Palatinus græcicus 323, which I shall hereafter call D, is on ninety-four leaves of parchment, of which the first two are unnumbered. Of the ninety-two numbered leaves the last is blank. On the verso of the first unnumbered leaf is the following note: 'Cleomenis in p. da divinationes verba hoc sunt' [The passage quoted is *De Divin.* I. xxi. 53]. On the verso of the second unnumbered leaf is: 'Jannocii Muneti 91 Princeps Liber I Secundus 9' and so on to 'Octavus 36.' The numbered leaves are occupied as follows: F. 1st ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν α· F. 2nd ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν β· F. 24th ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν γ· F. 35th ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν δ· F. 46th ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν ε· F. 55th ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν ζ· F. 65th ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν η· F. 86th ἡθικῶν εἰδοπλοίαν θ· F. 91st τέλος. (The numbering of the books agrees with that in my E.) The manuscript was written, according to the catalogue, by John Scovarites.³ Now Julian Scovarites copied at Florence from 1442 to 1494,⁴ and Giannozzo Manetti died on the 27th of October, 1459.⁵ This manuscript therefore must have been written between 1442 and 1459. In

¹ P. II, pp. 187, 188. Naldi—the favourite of Piero—but his friends called him—simply—largo—lato—elegant Little the untaught pleasure of Vespasiano (Munieri), 88, xx, col. 971.

² Sabaudini, *Scriptores de Cetere*, I. p. 55.

³ There are two manuscripts in the Vatican Library which, according to the catalogue, contain an *Eudemian Ethics* in seven books—Regius 67, 125 and Utrius. Gr. 45—but, as Regius 67 Gr. 125 is inscribed by the catalogue to the sixteenth and Utrius. Gr. 45 to

the sixteenth or seventeenth century, I have not been at the pains to examine them.

⁴ In the Vatican there is another manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* by the same author—Pal. Gr. 103. See Appendix C.

⁵ Omont, *Encyclopédie*, p. 12. Giacop's inscription of his tomb is dated 1459. He copied the *Politics* for Poliziano in 1464 (Svennili, ad. init. of *Politics*, p. xviii).

⁶ *Correspondence de Ristaud* (P. II, II. p. 195; Voigt, *Wiederholungen*, I. p. 498, n.).

reporting the testimony of D, so far as I have examined it, I propose to deal, first, with its readings in the three common books and, secondly, with its readings in the exclusively Eudelian books.

As regards the common books, it may be said generally that where AB or ABC agree in a reading, D in its original form agrees with them, and that where Δ presents a peculiar reading of its own, D very frequently agrees with it as against B or BC or the whole body of manuscripts. It follows that a good many of the mistakes which in the first of these studies I rashly attributed to John Rhodus are really due to an earlier scribe. That Cretan priest has received less than justice at my hands.

Although, as I have said, D agrees almost always with AB or with ABC when they agree, this is to be understood of its original reading. D has suffered from considerable correction. Here are some cases where it originally agreed with AB or with ABC and has been corrected.

1129b, 10 D in the text omits ἡ κατὰ ἀρετὴν in conformity with ABK^b and adds it in the margin.

1130b, 12 D in the text reads οὐ μέρος πρὸς δὲν, τὸ μὲν πλέον ἄπαν, διανοῦ τὸ δὲν διανοῦ, οὐ πᾶν πλέον. This agrees with AB. Then γὰρ has been added above the line between μὲν and πλέον, bringing the text into agreement with K^bL^b, and after δὲν there is a reference to the margin, which has τὸ μὲν γὰρ διανοῦ ἄπαν παράνομον τὸ δὲ παράνομον οὐχ ἄπαν διανοῦ, thus bringing D into practical agreement with M^bO^b.

1131b, 26 D reads in the text καὶ τὸ πολετικὸν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον. After δίκαιον there is a reference to the margin, which reads τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κοινωνίου πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πόνηραν, ἔδευθέρω καὶ ισσον, η κατὰ διαλογισμον, η κατὰ ὀρθοῦ, ὅτε δοθεὶς μὴ ἐστὶ τούτοις πρὸς μλληλούς, τὸ πολετικὸν δίκαιον. This passage is omitted also in AB. Note that in its marginal addition D agrees with L^b in omitting δὲ.

b 15 D has in the text τοῦ δρχεῖν καὶ ὥρχεσθαι but τοῦ and εἰς καὶ are over erasures. It is evident that it originally agreed with AB which give καὶ ὥρχη τοῦ δρχεσθαι.

b 21 D has αὔτως διαφέρει εἰσον, but all is over an erasure. ABK have εἰσον διαφέρει and K^b διαφέρει αὔτως η ἀλλος εἰσον.

1132b, 16 D has ἄπαν δικίον, but ε is over an erasure and the breathing is lost. AC have ἄπαν ἀκοίστον; B has δικίον but ε is over an erasure. *b* 14 D has ἔτι but ε is over an erasure. Here D agrees with B, while AC have ὅτι.

1137b, 5 Here Bakker and Susanihi read ταῦτην ἔστι. In K^b ταῦτον is inserted in and above the line by a later hand. AB^b omit it, but in B the corrector has added it in the margin. In D ταῦτον ἔστι is added in a small hand at the end of a line between σπουδαῖα and η μὲν.

1138b, 17 D has κατὰ ταῦτην ὕστερει but ταῦτη and ει are over an erasure. A has καθ' ο της ὕστερει and BC καθ' αὐτης ὕστερει. K^b has κατὰ ταῦτην ὕστερει ον.

1144b, 12 D adds δὲ above the line; AB omit it.

1146a, 2 τῷ] Here ABK^b have τῷ. D also has τῷ but with a dot over ο to call attention to the fact that it stands in need of correction.

The few cases in which the original text of D, so far as I have examined it, differs from AB or ABC are generally of slight importance. There are however, one or two which deserve mention.

1144b 30 D has *δρυματι*, which is apparently the reading of all Ekklesia manuscripts. ABC have all originally *όροματι*.

1145b 12 *οὐ οἰστρέπεται* is the reading of the editions and manuscripts, except A, which omits οὐ, and D, which both omits οὐ and reads *αἰστρέπεται*.

1149a 9 For *ἀφρότων* the reading of the editions and most manuscripts, ABCDE read *ἀφροδιτῶν*, but C has in the margin *ἀφρότων*. D has *ἀφροδίτων*.

There is one correction in D, which does not appear to be supported by other manuscripts. *1134b* 4 Between αὐτῷ and εἰ μή there is a reference to the margin, and in the margin Σλαττον δὲ τοῦ ἀπλοῦς λακοῦ.

I have examined D in every place in the three common books in which Appendix A to my first study reveals a difference between A and BC. Here are the results:—

First as to omissions. Most of the longer passages which are omitted exclusively by A are found in D. For instance D has:

1129b 21 καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώφρωνος αἰσθ., μὴ μικρένεις μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν.

1132b 18 ξύριονται οὐτε κερδάταιν, μότε πέρδαντε τινός κατ.

1134a 29 ἄλλα τὸ δίκαιον, καθ' ὁμοιότητα ἐστι γὰρ δίκαιον. 34 ἀγαθῶν, Σλαττον δὲ τοῦ ἀπλοῦς λακοῦ, διά.

1142b 30 τὸ ἀπλός κατορθῶσα, οὐ τις δὲ η πρὸς τι τέλος. 33 ἀληθῆς ἐπόδηψες εστίν, ἐστι δὲ κατ η σύνοσις.

1143c 33 καὶ γὰρ τὸ φράγματος δέ τι γινόσκεται αὐτό. b 29 αὐτὸν οὐχι χρήσιμον ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ μή ἔχοντος.

1154a 19 τὴν ἐπερβολὴν φεύγει ἀλλ οὐδεῖς οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν.

D agrees with A in the following omissions:—

1133b 22 οὐτι γὰρ τὸ ἐλαττον λακοῦ.

1132a 10 ἀνατίνος τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πλέον τοῦ λακοῦ δὲ Σλαττον.

Here is a passage omitted by D which A does not omit.

1142b 5 ἔτερος κατ η τύπουλα: οὐτι δὲ εὐτοχία τις η διηγέραια.

On the other hand, so far as I have examined D, whenever AB or ABC omit a passage, it is also omitted by D. For instance, D omits:—

1133a 8 τοῦ ἀφελέμενος η βλαβεροῦ παρά τὸ ἀνιλλογεν. διδ ἐπερβολὴ καὶ ἐλλεγήσ. 26 τούτοις . . . 29 δίκαιον.

1137b 8 δίκαιον: κατ οὐχ ὅλο τι γέρος δι βέλτειν ἐστι.

1149b 19 ἀδρυγή τοιν τὰς ποτε λυπούμενος.

Secondly, as to gaps, I have already pointed out in my first Study that Rhomus constantly leaves gaps at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. Very few of these gaps are recognised by D. Here is a list, the left hand reading being A's, and the right hand D's.

1132c 5 Χ . . . τα] χρῆται.

1133b 24 εἰπέρ . . . τ. . .] εἰπίηται.

1134b 33 ἀρμό . . . ει] ἀρμόσται.

- 1136^a 23 ὁ τ . . ἀδειον] δτ' ὄδειον.
 1137^a 6 τὸ δίκαιον . . .] τὸ τὰ ἀδεῖον (*ἀδεῖον* is over an erasure). 22
 τε . . αἰνεῖ] δειλαῖται
 1138^a 6 ἐποτοκτ . . . πέντε] ἑαυτοκτητόνται. 30 ἵριει . . .] ὑριειό.
 b 28 πο . . εῖν] πονέοι.
 1142^b 5 ἀγχού . . . a] ἀγχωσια. 27 π . . πει.
 1144^b 21 πέφικ . . .] πέφικε.
 1146^b 1 ἱρέι . . . a] ἱρευαία. 16 ἔοξ . .] δέξα corr. from δόξη. 20 ὁ
 οὐ . .] ὁ σύκ.
 1147^b 1 and 19 . . κρατειεσθαι] κεράτειεσθαι. 4 οὐδὲ ἀκρατησμι. but
 leaves gap] οὐδὲ ἀκρατη.
 1148^b 20 παιδ . . .] παιαή. 33 μίχοι . . .] μίχοιτα. 1.1 ἐπιε . . .
 λούρεια] ἐπικαλούρεια (sic). 32 οὐχ ὅπ . . . ονται] οὐχ ὅπιονται. The first
 ν is over an erasure and a circumflex over ου has been struck out.
 1149^b 29 π . . ρώσεις] πρώσεις.
 1151^a 3 οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι οὐδ. but leaves gap] οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι
 . . τεροι] ἀτεροι. 31 ὁ ὄποιο : . .] ὁ ὄπωι (letter erased) οὐδε.
 1153^b 3 αὐτ . . .] αὐτοι.
 I have only noticed one gap in D. 1147^b 23 D had originally ἴπιει . . .
 πέντε but πι has been inserted in the vacant space.
 Having regard to the testimony of D, I withdraw the view which I
 expressed in my first Study, that these gaps were in the archetype originally.
 It is more likely that the archetype became unreadable in the interval
 between the transcription by Scipiovarius and that by Rhodus.
 Thirdly, these matters being out of the way, I now give D's testimony
 in all other cases in which, in the common books, there is a difference
 between A and BC. I give a few cases here which will not be found in
 Appendix A. They are cases where A's reading was so palpably absurd that
 it did not seem worth while to record it. In order, however, to make
 complete reparation to John Rhodus, so far as I now can, I have included
 these cases. Where D agrees with A, its reading is given without any note.
 Where D differs from A, I give A's reading on the left, and D's on the right
 hand.
- 1129^c 5 δίκαιων. 8 ἀφ' οὐ. 23 καὶ οὐ.] καὶ. b 10 τοῦτο γάρ η
 παραγρία ήταν η ἀκοστήγη περιέχει πᾶσαν ἀδίκιαν καὶ κονόν ἐστι πάσης
 ἀδίκιας] τοῦτο γάρ περιέχει καὶ κονόν καὶ παράγραφος τοῦτο γάρ, η παρα-
 γρία ήτοι η (above line) ἀκοστήγη περιέχει πᾶσαν ἀδίκιαν καὶ κονόν ἐστι
 πάσης ἀδίκιας. [Note that M^b O^b omit η before ἀκοστήγη, while BCL^b retain
 it]. 20 λίπειν. 23 κατηγορεῖν καὶ οὐ. 26 οὐ καὶ η. 28 Στεροι] Στεπεροι
 but στ is perhaps over an erasure. 29 παραμιαζόμενι] παρομιαζόμενοι.
 1130^a 18 λειλῶν] δειλῶν. b 6 τις δὲ καὶ] τις καὶ. 25 γεροβέτηται]
 γερομοθέτηται. 29 εἶναι οὐ.
 1131^b 10 επιτηγορία. 22 καὶ ἰκέτα. 29 ἀριστοκρατικοὶ ἑάλογον]
 ἀνάλογοι. b 1 οὐσι οὐ. 6 τὸ δ. 8 οὐτ ὁ μῆ] ἡγρ ὁ μῆ. 17 τοῦτο παρά.
 1132^a 3 εἰ δὲ εἰ. 4 πρὸ. 8 ἀποθάνει. 10 ἀφέρων. 20 ιεται; τὸ ιέναι.

25 ὁσπερ γραμμοῖς γραμμῆς. 26 ταῦτ. 32 δίκαιος δίκαιοτής ον. b 9 τοῦ γρᾶ] τῷ γρᾶ 10 ἐποιῶντο. οἷος. 25 γε ον. φάσαμάθους. 27 εἰ καὶ σίσθι] κεῖται. 29 δρχοντες] δρχοντα.

1133a 13 αριστον οὐκ. θάτερον. 19 ἐφ̄ ὅμ. 33 τοῦ σκυτ. b 7 κρέα] χρέα. 14 διὰ.

1134b 15 οἷας] οἵ. 20 οὖτο. 24 τὰ ον.

1135a 4 πάντα. 12 D adds ὅτι ὅτας πραγμῆς ἀδίκημα λεγειν. Probably this was in the archetype, as it is given also by BOKLMP. 18 δέρων] ἀκερ. 27 τόπτει. b 14 ἐρῆθη] ὠήθη.

1136a 3 τὸ δίκαιον. 10 δικαιοσθαι. 31 οὐδὲ] οὐδὲ. b 8 δεῖ] δεῖν. 12 D has οὐδὲ in the line while in A it is above the line. 14 δὲ λέστει. 19 ἔχων] ἔχειν. 31 [ιετης] 32 κατὰ τὸν γ. 33 τὸν γ.

1137a 11 οὐχ ἀλεπόν] οὐ χαλεπόν. 35 ἐπανούμεν] ἐπανούμεν.

1138a 9 δὲ ον. 18 ξηροί. 14 πολιαρ] πόλια ἀν. 19 πειστα. 21 αἰτηπομέν. 25 τοιχωρυγει] τοιχωρυχέι. b 10 For δὴ of the other manuscripts. A has δεῖ. D has δὴ, but η is over an erasure. Note that the accent has not been altered. 21 διδάχειν. 35 δὲ ον.

1139a 18 A has τούτῳ for τούτῳ of the other manuscripts. D has τούτῳ. The dot over the last letter, to which another corresponds in the margin, calls attention to the fact that correction is required. b 4 δὴ προαπειρος. 13 ἐγεν] ἐγεν. 28 δὴ ον. 32 προστιορισμένα.

1140a 13 ἀρετὴ 30 εὐλογίζεται. 35 ἔχει] ἔχειν. b 15 λαΐ. 22 οὐ ζετει.

1141a 4 δάλω. 11 πολυκείτος. 20 ἔχουσαν. 25 φύσει. b 24 αἴτοις] αἴταις.

1142a 8 τέσσαρον] τὸ τούτον. 33 εὐτυχία] εὐτοχία. b 2 εὐτυχία] εὐτυχία. 3 τάχητης εὐτυχία] εὐτοχία. 4 δεῖ βουλευσθέντα. 11 διώρυσθαι. 29, 31 βουλευσθαι. 32 καὶ μὲν καὶ.

1143a 6 ἀπορήσει. 15 D here has κακῶς with A but with a dot over the second κ and another in the margin. 17 εἰ εἴσινέται. 27 δὲ δὴ. b 2 ἀπρήγταν. 11 πράξειν.

1144a 12 δὲ αὐτήν] διὰ τὴν. 14 δίκαιας] δίκαιον. 24 ἀποθέτα. 26 ἐπανετεῖ] ἐπανετῇ. b 8 ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχειν. 10 ὡς] ὡς. 20 πάτερ] πάτησα. 33 δὲ.

1145a 2 ἐπύρχονται. 8 ἄρα] ὅρα. 16 γέθη γέθη] εἶδη. 18 A has ἀρετὴ, D ἀρετήν, but οὐ is added in a different ink. The original hand of D has, however, ἀγεράνειν. 24 τῷ ον. 25 ἀντιθεμένη] ἀντιθεμένην. 27 τον. b 17 οὐτε. 18 οὐτε] δέτε. 24 τοπι. 30 παθεῖν.

1146a 1 ἀντιτίθενται. 4 ἀντιτίθενται. 7 ἔχοντα. 10 τοιούτοις. 26 οὐρτερανθέν] οὐρτερανθήν. b 26 δοξάντων διατίτιζονται. 31 A has ἔδαχον for ἔδει δεχόνται of the other manuscripts. D has δέδαχε but πει has been added above the line after δ.

1147a 7 D has δάλω εἰ τούτον. 9 δακεῖ. 11 ὑπάρχει. 15 ταῖς] τοῖς. b 3 διὰ ον. 11 διαστατη. 12 οὐ ον. 23 καὶ οἱ μ.] καὶ μ. 31 τὰς] τοὺς.

1148a 17 D does not add τερψ ταῦτα. 20 προσγένεστος ἐπιθυμίας but

in D final *v.* is erased. 23 εἰσι τῷ γένει καλῶν. b 6 [φευκτῶν] φευκτῶν
D οὐδέ; but D omits the preceding οὐν. 10 ὄροσις] ὄροισι.

1139a 20 οἷον ἡν. b 23 ὁσπερ] ὁι.

1160a 23 μέτον, δ. 25 δὲ ὑβοτῶν. 29 εἰ (1st.) om. b 10 ἀλλπη] ἀλλπη. 13 αὐτεῖνειν. 15 διὸ γένος. 20 προτεγέραντες] προτεγέραντες. 32 λατρός] λατός.

1161a 3 ὑπάγειαι. 8 τε] γε πράξεις θηριδόκου] θημοδόκου. 14 μετὸ
πίστεων] μεταπίστεως. 22 λόρη om. 31 προπίρρησι μήτε ομμένων. b 1
πιρεύπται] αἱρεύται. 2 D has κατὰ. 13 ὁ ἀγροκοι] οἱ ἀγροκοι; D does not
use καὶ οἱ ἀγροκοι. 17 δοξάσσων. 18 τῶν Σοφ.] τῶν Σοφ.

1162a 1 καὶ σοφίαιν. 13 κατὰ om. 18 η μὴ πόνηρας] ἡμιπόνηρος.
b 4 δὲ. 13 φύσιν καὶ. 21 αἰσχροῖς] αἰσχραῖ. 34 ἥδεναι.

1163a 4 καὶ om. b 2 τῇ. 23 καλῆ. 27 φημι. 33 εἰληρονιαῖς]
εἰληρονιαῖς. 35 γεωμετροῦσι.

1164a 5 φεύγει. 11 αὐχθηρία] μοχθηρά. 13 τῶν ἀγαθῶν] τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
14 ὑπερβολῆς. 18 ὅψεις] ὅψοις. 26 οἵ] αἱ. b 1 τελονημένην. 21 τὸ
αἴτη.

The patient reader who casts an eye over this record will see
that, though D is on the whole more carefully written than A—Rheims
is prone to omission—it coincides with A in the majority of its peculiar
readings, which we must therefore attribute to the archetype of the two
manuscripts.

So much for the testimony of D as regards the common books. I now
pass to the exclusively Eudemean books. I have collated D as far as *1217b* 20
and examined it in a number of places and here are the results. So far as
they go, D agrees very closely with A, as against all the other manuscripts.
Where A and B agree as against the other manuscripts, it agrees with them.
Where A and B differ, A agreeing with M^b as against BP^a, it agrees with
AM^b as against BP^a. There speak of its original reading; for in many cases
where A gives an independent reading, the reading of D, which originally
agreed with A, has been corrected.

Here are some cases where D agrees with A and has not been corrected.

1214a 7 συγχωροῦσεν. 30 δὲ] om.

1215a 10 ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῖς. b 10 η καὶ. 23 ἵπεμενειν. 24 τε] om.

1216a 5 ὄποσταντον. 20 Ελαστο (A has Ελαστη) 29 τὴν] om. 34 μέρη]
om. 38 τε] om. 39 διλῆς. b 18 τοῦθ. 19 γυγνώσκειν. 23 καὶ] om.

1217a 16 τὴν] om. 18 λέγομεν. b 1 τι] om. 9 λέγεται. 20 μέρη]
om. 21 στοῦν.

Here are some cases where D originally agreed with A as against the
other manuscripts and has been corrected.

1214a 1 A omits οὐ Διδοψ. In D it is added above the line. 11 A
omits καὶ. D adds it in the margin. 18 A omits τὴν. D adds it above
the line.

1215a 2 D now reads περὶ ὅν ἐπισκεπτόντος γόνος, but the second ο of
ἐπισκεπτόντος has been corrected from α. It therefore originally agreed with

A. 11 A omits τὸν περὶ; D adds it in the margin. 31 D has δὲ ἀγαπᾶς with B, but δὲ is over an erasure. Probably it originally agreed with A. b 24 A omits λόγον; D adds it above the line.

1216a 10 A omits τὸν; D adds it above the line. b 30 A omits μῆδος; D adds it above the line. 37 A has πολεμῶν for πολεμεῖν of the other manuscripts; D has πολεμεῖν but οὐσίων is over an erasure.

1217a 20 A has ἐπιστρέψεις for εἴτε τὸ σαφῆνε of the other manuscripts. In D τὸν is added above the line. 36 A reads διὰ for καὶ ἄλλο of the other manuscripts. In D καὶ is over an erasure. 37 A omits τὸν; D adds it in the margin. b 23 ὅτειτ' εἰ καὶ διῆ] A reads εἰς for εἰ καὶ. In D τὸν καὶ are in a small hand over an erasure. 27 In D δὲ is over an erasure; A has αὐτὸν.

1218a 3 D has πρότερον πρότερον γάρ τον κατέναι with the printed texts, but ποιητέρον γάρ τον ποιεῖ over an erasure. A has πρότερον γάρ τὸ γάρ κατέναι. 20 ἐφίεται [2nd]] ἐφίεται A. D has ἐφίεται but φίεται are over an erasure.

1221a 24 D has ὀλγυαχόδει but γὰρ are added above the line. A has ὀλγυαχόδει, BC ὀλγυαχόδει but in B γάροι are probably over an erasure.

1229a 26 δοκοῦσσεις εἰναις διετείνει. This is the reading of most of the manuscripts and of the printed texts. A has εἰς for εἰναις. D reads as above, but οὐσίαι εἰναις δὲ are over an erasure. 33 τὸ ποιητικόν] A omits; D adds in the margin. 35 φθαρτικής] So D, but ωκεῖς is over an erasure. A has φθαρτικοῖς.

1338a 27 προαιρετική] A omits; D adds in the margin. b 23 σώμα-φρον [2nd]] A omits; D adds in the margin.

1217b 24 καὶ οὐ δεῖ] A omits; D adds in the margin.

1248b 26 ἐπαγγείλει] A has ὑπαγγείλει. D has ἔ (afterwards οἶνεις) ἐπαγγείλει.

Here are some cases in which D originally agreed with ABC or AB as against the other manuscripts and has been corrected.

1214b 17 ABC omit οὐ; D adds it above the line.

1217b 14 AB (but not C) omit χωριστὴν; D adds it above the line.

In other cases, in which ABC, AB, AC or A alone agreed with the M^b text as against P^b, D originally agreed with them and has been corrected to agree with the P^b text.

1214a 24 ABCM^b read δαιμονία; P^b δαιμονίου. D reads δαιμονίᾳ, the dat under a denoting that it requires correction. b 7 D adds δεῖ above the line, in agreement, according to Susemihl, with οὐδεὶς, re. P^b.

1225a 15 οὐδὲ τὸν ABCM^b, οὐδὲ δὲ τὸν P^b. In D δὲ is added above the line.

1217b 26 ABCM^b omit τῷ; D adds it above the line.

1218a 16 ACM^b have διέκενται. D has διέκενται. Note that the corrector left the accent untouched.

1219a 3 καὶ γάρ ἔργος εἰς BP^b] ACM^b omit γάρ; D adds it in the margin.

1229^a, 20 ὁ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγρῷ BP^b] ACM^b omits τὸν; D adds it in the margin.

1229^b, 2 καὶ μὴ ἀργίζοβαι ματιζόμενος BP^b] ACM^b omits μὴ. In D καὶ μὴ are over an erasure.

1230^b, 35 πρὸς γενέθλιαν ἀκρατή τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον] In D πλεθα-
ἀκρατή τοῦτο δὲ are over an erasure. Now M^b for γενέθλια reads γένεθλια. AC
have πρὸς γένεθλιαν πρὸς γένεθλιαν.

1230^a, 33 καὶ γάρ οὗτος ACM^b] καὶ γάρ οὐ τοιοῦτος BP^b. D has καὶ γάρ οὐ
τοιοῦτος, but καὶ γάρ οὐ τοι are over an erasure. The corrector has left the
original breathing.

1229^a, 25 ACM^b have θῆπες; BP^b σῆπες. D has θῆπες and in the margin
γ' σῆπες.

1230^b, 39 ACM^b have πλεθήσαντος; BI^b πλεθητῶν. D has πλεθήσαντος and
in the margin γ' πλεθητῶν.

1230^b, 8 ABCM^b read κατεψηφισμένος. D has this in the text and in
the margin P^b κατεψηνσμένων, agreeing with P^b.

1230^b, 20 D has ὁ δὲ αἰτῶν αὐτὸς αἴρετος, which is the reading of
ABCM^b. In D there is a reference to the margin after αὐτὸν and in
the margin ὁ δὲ διὰ αἴρετος. Susemihl notes: αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ αὐτὸν
'mag. re. P^b'.

Here are some independent readings of D.

1216^a, 2 ὄμιλος οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ καθενέστεροῦ ιδούτον] P^bM^b agree except
that M^b reads οὐδὲν for οὐδὲ. Both D and Pal 185 omit οὐδὲ in the text and
add it in the margin and both agree with ABC in reading οὐ τὸν τοῦ. The latter reading is probably right.
b 30 Bekker reads πάντας without
noticing any variant. According to Susemihl 'ηρ. πάντας Victorina' and he
admits πάντας into the text. A has πάντες; BC πάντας; D πάντας.

1217^a, 16 D had originally ὁ λόγος ἔστι εἶτι which may be right. Then
the first εἶτι was erased. ABC have only εἶτι. b 13 τὰ δὲ πρώτα. This
is the reading of all the manuscripts including ABC. Spengel conjectured
τὰ δὲ πρώτα (Arbstattdische Studien, ii. p. 7). D has πρώτα.

1231^a, 32 The miss. read οὐ, BP^b καὶ ACM^b γάρ ἐπερβάλλουσι τῷ χαί-
ρετι μᾶλλον ή διὰ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ή δεῖ μὴ τυγχά-
νοντες, which seems to be right. BP^b omits καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ή δεῖ μὴ τυγχά-
νοντες. D reads καὶ γάρ ἐπερβάλλουσι τῷ χαίρετι μᾶλλον ή διὰ τυγχά-
νοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ή δεῖ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ή
δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες. It is curious that Pal 185, which originally left out
καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μὴ τυγχάνοντες, should have added it in the margin in the
duplicated form in which it appears in D.

1232^a, 26, 27 P^bM^b read οὐ δέ μικρόφυχος οὐ ἴπαρχόντας αὐτῷ μερόδων
κατὰ τιμὴν ἀγαθῶν ἀξιοῖ, τι ἀν εἴσοι οὐ μικρῶν ἀξιοῖ ήτο [εἰ P^b
οὐ M^b] γάρ [ἄν P^b] μερόδων ἀξιοῖ χαῖνος ήτο δέ [εἴτε διατέθεων M^b]. ABC agree with M^b,
except that they retain άν. D reads ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲ ἀξιοῖ ταῦτα οὐδιοῖς

τι ἀντὶ εἰδή, all which words, except the first, are over an erasure. In the text D reads εἰ τὸ διατέλοντα and in the margin Π εἰ διατέλοντα δε εἰδ., εἰτ. D's reading in the text comes near to that of 'mg. re. P' and his reading in the margin agrees with that of 'D. et mg. re. P.' (I quote from Susemihl). b. 8 The manuscripts give δεῖ δε πρέπει εἰδεῖ καὶ γάρ τοῦ πρέπειτος εἰτ' ἀξίας, καὶ πρέπει καὶ τελ οὐ, οὐδὲ περὶ αἰσθέτου γάμου, 'There seem to be no variants. D gives καὶ γάρ τῷ (corrected from τῷ) πρέποντα εἰτ' ἀξίας ἀξίας (over an erasure) πρέπει, καὶ περὶ οὐ, οὐδὲ περὶ τῷ αἰσθέτου γάμου. Now it is evident that a line has been repeated here. Above is τῷ γάρ πρέπει εἰτ' ἀξίας εἰτίς οὐδὲ γάρ πρέπει. It is repeated in D more closely in its original form than in the other manuscripts. We should read δεῖ δε πρέπει εἰδεῖ καὶ περὶ οὐ ε.τ.λ.

1237b 19 Bekker and Susemihl read σούται οὐ βούλεσθαι φίλοι ἀλλ' εἰδεῖ φίλοι. This is the reading of ABCM^b. P^b omits οὐ. It is clear that D agreed originally with M^b and then was corrected to agree with P^b. D reads σούται (two letters erased) βούλεσθαι φίλοι εἰδεῖ (over an erasure) [now line] εἰδεῖ (also over an erasure) φίλοι. In the margin at the end of the first line is ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδεῖ φίλοι and at the beginning of the second ἀλλ'.

1238a 24 Bekker and Susemihl read: δεῖσθαι το γάρ το μερὶς ὅδη τυχό δηλοῖ. This is M^b's reading; P^b omits ὅδη. D in place of ὅδη has a space of about ten letters in length. (A omits ὅδη but leaves no gap; BC^b omit it, leaving a space of four or five letters. M^b's ὅδη is no doubt a conjecture.)

1238a 27 Bekker following P^b reads μῆτρον το εἰδεῖς τούτῳ ἀπ δοξαῖς M^b has simply μῆτρον δοξαῖς. ABC have μῆτρον (then space of about thirty-five letters) δοξαῖς. D has μῆτρον το εἰδεῖς τούτος δι (space of seven letters ends the line, space of fourteen letters begins next line), δοξαῖς.

Of the four manuscripts which I have examined of the Eudelian tradition, D, in its original and uncorrected form, appears to be the most nearest to the common archetype, and where A and D agree, I think we are entitled to assume that we have the readings of that archetype. On the other hand, B and C are probably not derived immediately from the common archetype, but from a copy of that archetype, which has itself been corrected in the same style and scale as D.

The evidence of a close connexion between A and D which is afforded by the similarity of their readings may be supplemented and strengthened from another source. In 1137a 6 most manuscripts read συγγενεῖσθαι μερὶς τῷ τοῦ γάμους καὶ τατάξαι τοις πληροῖς καὶ δούται τῷ χειρὶ τὰ συγγενεῖσθαις καὶ εἰτ' αἴτοις. B reads τατάξαι τοις πληροῖς ἀγγέλεις. It is clear that the scribe of D had his eye caught by αἴτοις in the line below and took it in and then saw his mistake. Now it is probable that αἴτοις in the line below came immediately before the end of πληροῖς. By this reasoning we get a line of thirty-seven letters for the archetype of D. On the other hand, in 1148a 17 A reads εἰ τοις μερὶς ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντέτονται εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ μερὶς ταῦτα. In 1153a 13 A reads καὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ οἱ λόγους οἱ μερὶς ταῦτας εἰτι μετατίθεται. In these cases, if we suppose that περὶ ταῦτα was repeated because περὶ ταῦτα stood immediately above it in the preceding

line and that *εαὶ οἱ ἀριθμοί* was repeated because *εαὶ οἱ ἀριθμοί* stood immediately above it in the preceding line, we get for a line of the archetype thirty-five and forty-two letters respectively (A reads *οἱ ἀριθμοί* but this is evidently a mere slip of Rhosus; BCD give *οἱ ἀριθμοί*). Again, in *1140b* 23 A reads *λόγος περ τούτου αἰσχυντος οὐ τεπι τεπι τον θηρίον*. I suspect that Rhosus wrote *τεπι* after *θηρίον* because his eye was caught by the *τεπι* of the second *τεπι* coming immediately after it in the line below. This gives us a line of forty letters for the archetype. The omissions which are peculiar to A point in the same direction. Here are the figures: *1129b* 21, forty-three letters; *1132a* 18, forty-three letters; *1134a* 29, thirty-nine letters; 31, thirty-one letters; *1142b* 30, thirty-five letters; 33, thirty-four letters; *1143a* 33, thirty-three letters; b 29, thirty-eight letters; *1154a* 19, thirty-five letters; *1216b* 25, thirty-eight letters. All this suggests an archetype with about the same number of letters to the line as K^b, which has generally thirty-seven or thirty-eight letters to the line, but sometimes as few as thirty-five, and occasionally forty-three or forty-four. (This mystifies what I said in my first Study at page 51).

These arithmetical calculations are, however, as dangerous as they are fascinating, and I only draw attention to these striking coincidences between A and D as affording some additional support to the view that they are immediate copies of one and the same manuscript. A suggestion may be hazarded as to the origin of that manuscript.

Philolpus on his return from Constantinople in 1427 gives a list of the manuscripts which he had brought back with him to Italy.¹⁰ Among them are the *Ethics* of Aristotle, the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudemian Ethics*. The manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* may have been a copy made in Constantinople. Philolpus had a *Nicomachean Ethics* copied for him in Constantinople in 1423—and what is more, by a copyist who praised his liberality.¹¹ But if Philolpus' manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* is the archetype of ABCD, it is more probable that it was a manuscript of considerable antiquity. What makes me suggest that it was the archetype of our manuscripts are the facts that B was written for Philolpus, that C belonged to him, and that he was—or professed to be—on very friendly terms with Giannozzo Manetti, who would therefore have had no difficulty in borrowing the archetype for the purpose of making a copy. There is a letter from Philolpus to Manetti dated 'xii. kal. octobres. M. cccc. lvii.' He speaks of 'our old and great friendship.' 'Iampridem,' he says, 'cum Florentiae agerem, solebam primis annis tuum ritua institutum non probare solum, sed etiam laudare, qui platonensis, ut milii videbatur preceptis imbutus reipublice gubernacula nullo pacto velle attingere. Itaque totonc græcae disciplinae studiis et exercitationibus te dedilera. Erasque ejus r̄i gratia

¹⁰ See on the whole subject Cabibini (Aristotele) 'Risorse intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filolfo' in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, V. xx., Firenze, 1913, pp. 204–224.

¹¹ Brandis, 'Die Aristotelischen Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek' in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Historisch-philologische Abhandlungen)* p. 74.

quoddam mecum una.¹ D cannot date back to these happy times, as Scourziotes did not begin his career till long after Philelphus had withdrawn from Florence. But the archetype may have been sent to Manetti afterwards.

The reader has now before him the testimony for the Eudemian tradition of the three common books in as complete a form as I can present it.

W. ASHBURTON.

APPENDIX C.

There is another manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* written by John Scourziotes—Palatinus Graecus 165. This manuscript contains the *Nicomachean Ethics* and therefore in the text of the *Eudemian Ethics* the common books are omitted (see Bekker at 123b 14). Suseinil, who calls it D, and says that it belongs to the same class as P^b, gives its readings for 1214, 1215, and in some other places. While it is true that it agrees closely with P^b from beginning to end, so far as I have examined it, it is also true that, in the early part at least of the *Eudemian Ethics*, it has been largely corrected from a manuscript of the M^b family. Here is a list of words and phrases which Pal. 165 in agreement with P^b omits in the text and which it adds in the margin. (The readers of my first Study will notice that some of these places are also omitted in the text by my B, which in its early part belongs to the P^b family, and are also supplied in the margin.)

121b 31 τι.

122b 14 πλήστης δὲ καὶ λοισφυτικός ταῦς κολάστης ταῦς ἀνὰ τῆς ὁργῆς. 30 πέφυκε γνέσται χείρων καὶ βελτίων.

122b 17 καὶ κατὰ τρομήσεις τὴν ἐκδύσιν δεῖπνον αἴτινα εἶναι δέ τις ἀκονίσια. b 5 θαυμάσματος σημίτται.

122b 31 χαίρω δέ.

122b 10 πρόστηρ. 13 εἰ γάρ.

123b 5 καὶ χαλεπότερος.

The corrector did not persevere to the end. Thus 122b 10 Pal. 165 omits εἴτι and δή νοῦς with P^b; 11 it omits χρῆται . . . 12 ἀρετὴ with P^b; 14 it omits δή with P^b; but in none of these cases is the omission supplied in the margin.

Here are a few more cases where the reading of Pal. 165 points in the same direction.

122b 15 ποιάτης. Λέγω δι τὸ δημόπους are dotted underneath, no doubt as a sign that they should be omitted. M^b omits a passage, the last word of which is ποιάτης. It is probable that the corrector of Pal. 165 was trying to bring his text into conformity with a manuscript of the M^b type, and made a mistake in his dots.

122b 4 προαιρέτας δ' αὐτοῖς is in the text but over an emsure, ὑδερ ἰξαίφυτος. εἰ δέ ἄνδρας μὲν is added in the margin. P^b and my B omit in

the text προαιρέται δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἔχει φύγει. B adds it in the margin. Probably Pal. 165 originally had the same omission and corrected it, partly in the text and partly in the margin.

1231a 32 Pal. 165 adds: In the margin εἰς λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τεργχάνετες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τεργχάνετες between 31 τεργχάνετες and 33 οὐδὲ λυπεῖσθαι. P^o—followed by my B—omit εἰς λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τεργχάνετες. It is probable that Pal. 165 intended merely to correct this omission. It is rather singular that my D has in the text the whole passage which Pal. 165 adds in the margin. Can Pal. 165 have been corrected by the aid of D? However this may be, I think it will be found that Pal. 165 in its original form is merely a copy of P^o.

APPENDIX D.

In my first Study I identified the unknown manuscript of Victorius, which Susemihl makes use of and calls C^o, with my B and suggested that, where Susemihl gives a reading which is not found in B, he may have used another manuscript. Victorius in his commentary on the *Nicomachus Ethics* makes considerable use of the *Eudemian Ethics*—‘quoniam tamen’ he says of them, ‘non sāne tractu tamen leguntur’—and discusses questions of their text not infrequently.

Here are the passages. (I cite from *Petri Victorii Commentaria in X Libros Aristotelis de Muriis et Nicomachum*, Florentiae, 1584, fol.)

1215b 8 In citing the passage about Anaxagoras, he reads δε σὸν ταῦτα (p. 601). This is the reading of CZM^b, while P^o and AB have δη.

1215b 32 Verba Aristotelis sunt in altero illo opere ταῦτα διὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ η̄ λέτος, η̄ ψυχῆς, suspicari tamen posset quispianum, quam optimū non temere sequendam indicet, deficiens: ‘οὐ λογί τερτium membrum, cum calamo exaratos libros nūs de mortibus operis doloris nulla re illio variat’ (p. 38) Bekker’s and Susemihl’s manuscripts all give ψυχῆς and the editors prefix έν. ABC also have ψυχῆς. Possibly ψυχῆς is a printer’s error. It is curious that Spengel (*Aristotelische Studien*, ii. p. 8) first inserts a tertium membrum and then repeats of his insertion.

1221b 19 ‘Ne tamen omittere debeo, quin testet, duo munda, huc ipsa in parte οὐ λογί exarato libris halere, quae auctoritate valido scriptorum collatum: nam ‘pro τῷ λαμβάνειν legi debet προσλαμβάνειν et pro συντρόπειν, συνειλημέτειν’ (p. 98). P^oB have προσλαμβάνειν, M^aAC τῷ λαμβάνειν: P^oM^aABC all agree in συνειλημέτειν.

1226a 8 Victorius in citing this passage reads ἀπάθειας, καὶ ἡρεμίας: ‘na. enim quoque illo, calamo exarati libri, multitudinis numero, non unitalis habent’ (p. 82). P^oM^aAC have ἀπάθειας καὶ ἡρεμίας. B has ἀπάθειας καὶ ἡρεμίας.

1226b 19 ‘Pro κατενωχησότες igitur κατατυχησότες illo legi debet’

(p. 170). *κατενοχησότες* is the reading of Aldus and *κατενυχησότες* of P^h M^h and my BC. A has *κατενυχότες*.

1232b 38 He reads ἀρόγτον. 'Ita enim scriptum est in libris antiquis, cum in Aldino exemplari hoc verbum turpiter depravatum sit (p. 232) P^hM^hABC all read ἀρέτον.'

1239a 37 'Corruptum profecto id est in omnibus quos viderim libris: pro ἑπερβολais enim perpetuum scriptum in ipsis est ὑπερβολais; cui lectio loci nullo pacio est, conjecturam igitur sequitur, locum emendavi' (p. 464).

1241a 35, . 38 'Sed cum eius dubitationis primum pars vale corruptione sit in libris etiam duobus, quos vidi manuscriptis, quoniam potest legi debere hic significatio: nam in peroratione ipsa nullum medium extat: ἀπορεῖται. δὲ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον φιλοῖσται οἱ τομήσατες εἰ, τοῦτο ταῦτα, ἢ οἱ ταῦθες εἰ, τοῦς τομήσατας. δοκεῖ δὲ δίκαιος εἴτιοι τούτων: τούτῳ δὲ ἐπολάζοι μὲν ἀν τοις δια τὸ χρῆσιμον, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ὑφέλιμον συμβαίνειν, et cetera quia sequuntur. minime depravata legi debet Σοκράτειον' (p. 520).

1246b 34 'Redigit mihi in memoriam locum, quem in libro de mortibus ad Euclenium, video inquit, conjectura dicitur, fideliter emendasse: ubi enim illis legitur καὶ ὄρθως τὸ σῶμα κρατητικὸν, ὅτι οὐδέποτε πολυτέρου φρονήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ιπποτήμα (sic) ἔφη, οὐκ ὄρθως, et quae sequuntur, prout ex ultimo propter illis verbis, miserrimum in modum depravatis legi debet Σοκράτειον' (p. 373).

It is clear from Victorinus' own words that he had two manuscripts to consult, and equally that one of them was B and that the other was not A. Can it have been C?

THE CHARACTER OF GREEK COLONISATION¹

THREE movements of expansion can be distinguished in what we know of the history of the Greeks. The first, that of the so-called Dorian and Ionian migrations, left them in possession of the Greek mainland, the principal islands of the Aegean, and the western seaboard of Asia Minor. The second, that of Greek colonisation properly so-called, extended the Greek world to the limits familiar to us in the history of Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries.² The third, in which Macedonian kings act as leaders, began with the conquests of Alexander, and resulted in that Hellenisation of the East which was the permanent achievement of his successors. The general character of the second of these movements forms the subject of this essay. Much has still to be done before a detailed history of Greek colonisation can be given to the world. Sites must be excavated, and the main lines of Greek commercial history established, before it can even be attempted. But we know enough already to judge with fair accuracy of that tremendous outburst of activity, which left the Greeks almost undisputed masters of Mediterranean commerce. Here and there the course of development is still uncertain, and almost everywhere we are ignorant of details that would inevitably be instructive; but, since recent historians of Greece run rather at narrating the story of individual colonies than at presenting general conclusions, it may prove worth while to give here a survey of the whole field. Perhaps the clearest way of presenting such a survey will be to discuss first the causes of Greek colonisation; secondly, the political and social conditions under which it developed; and lastly, the relations which resulted between each colony and its mother-state.³

L.—*The Causes of Greek Colonisation.*

Thucydides had no doubt as to the underlying cause of Greek colonisation: *τετραποτέ τὰς ἐγχώριους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάκιττα ὅσαι μὴ θάρση*

¹ The essay here printed, by permission of the Council of the British Academy, was awarded the first annual Cromer Prize 'for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of ancient Greece' (*see J.H.S.*, xxix, p. lxiii.).

² I acknowledge my authorities in the

course of this essay; but I should like here to express my gratitude to Rev. E. M. Walker, of Queen's College, Oxford, and to Professor Peary Gardner for the personal help and encouragement which they have given me. It will be also plain how much I owe to the recent edition of Beloch's *Grichische Geschichte* (1914).

sixer χώραν.² It may be objected that the historian had before him little more evidence as to the history of his country in the eighth century than is now at our disposal. From the standpoint of the archaeologist he had perhaps even less; but he had fewer misconceptions to clear away, and there can be little doubt as to the accuracy of his conclusions. Greek colonisation was due above all else, to the need for land. But the simplicity of this statement must not rob it of its force. Colonisation, it is true, implies at all times a need for expansion, and under healthy conditions it is a sign that the population of the home-country is fast out-growing its productive capacity; but Greek colonisation was due to a motive that was peculiarly urgent. Greece is, before all things else, a small country—so small, that the traveller on his first visit needs time to grow familiar with the shock of this discovery. Cultivable land, moreover, is precious where large rocks are so plentiful, and it is of cultivable land, of course, that Thucydides speaks. Here, then, lies the force of his remark: We have only to look at the map to see how truly his words apply to the chief colonising states of Greece, Corinth, Megara, Chalcis, Eretria, Phocaea, Miletus: all are sea-ports with a territory of some extent and fertility, but so confined either by natural obstacles or by the neighbourhood of powerful states as to preclude the possibility of expansion by land. Yet, when once their population of peasants and farmers began to grow, land must be had somewhere, and, since it could not be had at home, expansion over the seas became a necessity: διὸ μὴ διαρρέηντος χώραν.

But geography is not alone in teaching us the form of the world used by Thucydides. Greek colonisation begins in the eighth century B.C., continues in full vigour for some 150 years, and begins to decline towards the middle of the sixth century—that is to say, it begins in what we now call "proto-historic" times, and has practically ended at an age of which later Greeks had no connected history. We know now that they filled in many of the gaps in their knowledge by inferences drawn from the history of their own times. For us the temptation to do the same is still great, but we must learn to think away our previous conceptions if we wish the early history of the Greek colonies to become vivid and intelligible. And, in the first place, we must think away all the associations which life in a highly-developed industrial society has inevitably left in our minds. Thucydides tells us that Greece was once a land of villages.³ The fact is undisputed, but its logical consequences in Greek history are hard to realise. There were no cities in the days when Aethias sailed from Corinth or the first Ionian settlers from Miletus. The statement sounds almost a contradiction in terms, but it is literally true. In the age to which those early colonies belong, the Greeks had already developed the typical *polis* or city state, but the city, as we know it, owing its existence to industry and commerce, was still in process of development, for the population of Greece was still mainly agricultural, tillers of the soil, not dwellers in the city.⁴ The social conditions which we

² Th. v. 15; cf. Plato, *Laws*, 768 b, 749 c.

³ Th. i. 40.

⁴ Below, *Gr. Greek*, vol. 22, i, 1, pp. 202-3, for the development of the *polis*.

know to have existed in pre-Solonian Athens seem to have been typical of many other Greek states. Feudal aristocracies, based on the tenure of land, were still strong throughout the country—possibly the old feudal monarchies had not yet completely disappeared; and though the whole population was grouped in the constitution of a regular state the majority lived and worked, not in the central town, but in villages or on the land.⁶ In such a community land is the most valuable of all possessions, the only guarantee of permanent wealth. The great wars of which we hear in this period those of Argos against Sparta and of Chalcis against Eretria were waged in deadly earnest, because each side fought for the possession of a plain; and the states which sent out colonies were urged by the same motives, for here, too, the possession of land was at stake.

Here, however, we must make a distinction which is of some importance. In the passage which we have already quoted, it will be noticed that Thucydides makes no distinction between the era of colonisation according to the sense in which we are now using the term, and the earlier occupation of the islands by Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian tribes; and this failure to distinguish between two separate epochs in Greek history can be traced also in an earlier chapter.⁷ Yet the difference is not merely one of time. The earlier migrations were, it is true, caused by the pressure of advancing tribes, and were thus due, in a sense, to the need for land; but, unlike the later movement of expansion, they were themselves tribal conquests, not settlements organised by a city-state. In the history of modern Europe they correspond rather to the barbarian invasions of the fifth century A.D. than to the movements of colonisation which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The later Greek settlements, on the other hand, were due to the natural growth of a population which had lived for generations under settled conditions, and to them alone can we apply the words of Thucydides: *γαρ οὐταναὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς δεδιώκει καὶ οὐκέτι λιποτάπειρης ἀρουσίας ἔχει τέλος.*⁸ After the period in which Dorians, Ionians and the other tribes of the mainland had struggled for the supremacy, Greek life, both on the mainland and in the newly-won territories, settled down to a period of agricultural development. Soil hitherto unilled was made productive, tenure of land became more secure, and by sea the pirates, with whom Homer was familiar, were gradually forced to a more regular existence.⁹ It is in this period of growing order and prosperity that the origins of Greek colonisation are to be sought. On the one hand, as families began to hold land continuously for generations, and since the amount of fertile soil was very limited, the natural growth of a peasant population soon needed some outlet to replace the earlier custom of restless wandering. On the other hand, with the clearing of the seas from pirates, men grew accustomed to regular intercourses by water. It needed

⁶ Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 86-7.

⁷ Th. i. 12, where the Athenian settlements in Ionia are treated as parallel to the Peloponnesian colonies in Italy and Sicily.

⁸ Th. i. 12.

⁹ Detocq, op. cit. I. 1, pp. 229-232 and 282 (though his views on the Homeric question have disturbed his chronology).

only some local crisis, or the enterprise of some prominent citizen, to suggest the plan of a public emigration.

If we turn again to the map we shall see more exactly what were the geographical limits of the Greek peoples when they embarked on their enterprise of expansion over the seas. On the mainland, all was of Greek nationality from the Peloponnesus to the borders of Illyria and Thessaly; but the tribes of Aeolis, Aetolia, Thessaly and Macedonia were behindhand in their social development, and did not really share in the civilisation of their more advanced kinsfolk. In the Aegean, Lemnos and Imbros, still barbarian, marked the northernmost limits of the Greek world, but in the south the advance had been more rapid. Crete was wholly, Cyprus partly, in Greek hands. Greek settlers had occupied at an early date the coast-line of Pamphylia, and it is possible that others had penetrated as far south as the district later to be known as Crenaea.¹⁰ On the Asiatic coast, Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian settlers had already made their homes from Cnidus in the south to the Troad in the north; but the Hellespont and the Propontis, and (in Europe) the whole Thracian coast were still in the hands of native tribes. Within these limits Greek life had attained, with fair uniformity, the settled conditions already described, and the number and variety of the states which took part in the early colonial movement show how widely prosperity had already been diffused in the different regions of the Greek world. But progress had, of course, been relative, and we must free our minds from many conceptions of value-made familiar by later-Greek history. Athens was as yet unimportant. Sparta was only beginning her rôle of arbiter in the Peloponnesus. Corinth, Chalcis and Eretria were the great cities of the West, and in the East Ionia was already outstripping the mother-country both in enterprise and culture.

The mention of these towns naturally suggests the question, so familiar in the history of modern colonies: Was there, in addition to the need for expansion felt by a growing population, the further motive of commercial enterprise? In a lecture recently delivered to the Classical Association, Professor Myres has thrown new light on some old puzzles in Greek colonial history by an appeal to the facts of geography.¹¹ The currents of the Mediterranean, the winds of the Adriatic, the temperature of the Euxine are all cited in explanation and illustration of the paths taken by the Greek colonists; but we must remember, in turn, to examine these geographical facts in the light of the facts of chronology. Professor Myres is convincing when he shows, taught by his own personal experience, that the Greeks were kept aloof from the Adriatic by adverse winds, and helped to Italy and the West by favoring currents; but neither winds nor currents can justly be named prime causes of Greek colonisation. Professor Myres is, therefore, forced to supplement his geography by economics, and he speaks constantly

¹⁰ Cf. A. Kerke, 'Die Myrmidonen in Kyrene,' *Hermes*, 1906. For Pamphylia, cf. Baedeker, *Gr. Gesch.* (ed. 2), I, p. 323.

¹¹ *Proceedings of Classical Association*, 1911, pp. 43-60.

of Greek traders and commercial routes. Here, surely, his chronology is at fault. No one can dispute for a moment that the Greeks were by instinct a race of traders, and that this instinct was nowhere more conspicuously shown than in the history of their colonisation. But we must distinguish carefully between two stages in that history. If the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries were predominantly a trading race, it does not follow that they were always so. Greek colonisation goes back, at least, to the closing quarter of the eighth century B.C.—an early date in the history of their social development. Was the Greek instinct for commerce sufficiently developed at that early date to act as a compelling motive in a great migratory movement? If we answer in the negative, it is because the evidence of archaeology seems to prove that the Greeks had not so early at their disposal the materials requisite for large industrial or mercantile enterprises. In the recent edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* Dr. Behaghel has pointed out how small were the industries and how inadequate the shipping of the Greek world during the era of the earliest settlements.¹⁷ Thucydides himself dates the first great advances made by the Greeks in the art of navigation two or three generations later than the traditional date of the first Ionian settlements,¹⁸ and we can safely say that not until the second half of the seventh century did commerce and industry begin to play a dominant part in Greek life and history. The earlier Greeks were, in the main, not traders but peasants; and the first Greek colonies did not owe their existence to reasons of commerce, as do to-day, for example, the States of North America. But, on the other hand, commercial enterprise must certainly have had its share in the origins of Greek colonisation. In his account of the founding of Cyrene, Herodotus tells how the men of Thera first heard of the new country from a fisherman of Crete, and how they were helped on their journey by Samian fishermen.¹⁹ We have here, in all probability, some relic of tradition which, if only we could supply the missing details, would throw light on the part played by individual traders in the work of discovering new sites and of acting as guides to the emigrant community. Such guides there must certainly have been. Possibly in many cases the actual impulse to go from the mother-country was due to the tales brought home by adventurous traders; but, given the conditions which we know to have prevailed in eighth century Greece, the main cause of unrest at home, and of the consequent settlements abroad, must always have been the pressure of a growing population seeking to expand within limits which were inevitably too small.

To illustrate these social conditions, it is well to recall a neglected statement preserved by Strabo which, when set in its proper light, sets us speculating as to the whole course of early Greek history. He tells us²⁰ that, when Archim set sail from Corinth for Syracuse, most of his followers came from Teane, a village in Corinthian territory. No authority is given for this statement, but it is evidently based on local tradition (the only possible

¹⁷ Behaghel, i. 1, pp. 264–277.

¹⁸ Th. I. 13.

¹⁹ Her. vi. 125–6.

²⁰ Strab., p. 392.

sources for so obscure a fact), and traditions of this kind are almost always of the highest authority.¹¹ But what a light it sheds on early Corinthian history! Corinth, we know, was one of the first Greek states to develop a commercial system;¹² its coinage was among the earliest struck on the mainland, and it was early involved in the work of colonisation. Here, if anywhere, we should suspect the influence of commercial motives; the conclusion seems almost inevitable that Symeum, Coreya, and the other early Corinthian colonies were founded with the immediate object of establishing Corinthian influence on an important trade-route. Possibly thoughts of this kind were in the minds of Archias and the other leaders of the expedition; they may have heard from traders of the gain to be won by opening up the sea-road to Italy. What is certain is that the majority of those who sailed with him on his expedition, if Strabo's statement is correct, cannot have been of the seafaring class. Teane is an inland village; its inhabitants must always have been of the peasant-class, and can have had but little interest in questions of commerce and trade-routes. Whatever may have been the later history of Corinth's colonising activity, her first settlements were made at a time when her population was still mainly agricultural, and when commercial interests had not yet become the dominant element in domestic politics. Even after a century of archaeological discovery, we know so little about eighth century Greece, that we can go little further than the mere statement of that fact; but it is always well to remember that the men who followed Archias across the seas were very different from the fully civilised Greeks of the fifth century. Mr. Hogarth has argued very ably against those who would see in "proto-historic" Greeks nothing but a society of savage tribes "with an innate instinct for humanism,"¹³ and his objections gain force with each succeeding century in Greek history. Comparatively speaking, civilisation in its various forms was well advanced in Greece in the eighth century B.C.; and the recent excavations at Sparta have taught us to think highly of early Greek art; but three centuries were still needed to produce the full bloom of Periclean Athens. The colonists of Archias belonged to a less complex society. They went about their day's work clad in the simplest, barely decent clothing¹⁴ and the implements which came readiest to their hands were still the sword and the plough. In spite of Mr. Hogarth one is tempted to ask whether they were anything more than half-wild, healthy men, with an eye for beauty and an almost endless capacity for improving their minds. Certainly they were not the men to organise a great national venture on a purely commercial basis, and for purely commercial ends.

Having regard to these facts, we may, perhaps, claim that the earliest Greek settlers were led rather on the path of adventure than along recognised trade-routes—but again we must be careful not to confound ancient

¹¹ Strabo's immobile authority cannot, apparently, be Aristotle (quoted for another fact about Teane shortly afterwards), for in the same sentence he speaks of the Roman conquest of Corinth.

¹² Th. I. 13; Strabo, p. 378.

¹³ Hogarth, *Jains and the East*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Lang, *World of Homer*, p. 84 and frontispiece. He speaks only of Iolchus, but his frontispiece is taken from Sparta.

with modern history. We read often of the era of discovery which preceded the settlement of the Greek colonies,²⁹ but we have only to compare the history of eighth century Greece with the history of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to see how misleading is the phrase. Medieval Europe was startled into new life by the discovery of new continents, and we need only follow on the map the rapid progress of Portuguese discovery round the coasts of Africa, or read of the successive attempts to find the New Atlantis, to appreciate the glamour of romance which still hangs round those first centuries of European colonisation. To the sailors of Spain and Portugal the craving for travel and adventure was a stimulus more powerful than the desire for gold; but the Greek sailors of the eighth century B.C. can have had little of that craving. Greek colonisation was not heralded by any startling discovery of new lands. It was rather a gradual process, during which, slowly and cautiously, Greek ships advanced from headland to headland, never venturing far from the mainland, and for the most part remaining for two or three generations within waters which had been already explored by the Phoenicians, or included within the former sphere of Minoan thalassocracy. The Samian and Phocaean adventurers whose voyages thrilled Greeks in their own day and interest us still in the pages of Herodotus,³⁰ lived not in the eighth, but in the seventh century B.C. Massala itself was not founded until about 600 B.C.³¹

Since these statements may seem to have something of the air of a paradox, it will be well to examine more closely the different regions in which Greek enterprise was most marked in the eighth century B.C. To this period tradition ascribed the settlement of Cercynia, the foundation of the earliest Italian and Sicilian colonies, and the first Milesian settlements on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine; we may perhaps add the first Eubrian colonies in Chalcidice, though here even the approximate date of foundation must remain in doubt.³² Of these regions, Cerynia and Chalcidice were geographically almost part of the Greek world, they lay within sight of Greek-speaking countries, and were the natural stepping-stones for an athenian overseas. Italy lay but fifty miles from the coast of Epirus, and on a clear day it is possible to see one coast from the other.³³ Exploration under such conditions was, without doubt, a real advance, but it was not, as in the annals of fifteenth century seafarership, a voyage into the unknown; and, once the Greek sailors had crossed the straits, the coasts of Italy and Sicily were but a repetition of their own familiar shores. Only in one region did the Greeks of the eighth century B.C. penetrate into a country almost wholly unlike their native land. The Milesian exploration of the Euxine is a signal proof that even at an early date, Greek sailors were not afraid to face real dangers, both from climate and from the uncertain

²⁹ Cf. Burz, *History of Greece*, p. 86; Zamansky, *Greek Colonies* (18), p. 240; Prod. Hayes, loc. cit., pp. 49-50.

³⁰ Her. I. 162; II. 152.

³¹ Julian, *Histories of the Danab.* I. p. 265. Cerynia was not founded until 630.

³² Bunsell, *Ge. Greek* (ed. 2), I. p. 422, n. 4.

³³ Cf. Baloch, op. cit.; I. 1. p. 233.

hospitality of native tribes. But here again it is well to remember the map. Milesian colonisation was, even more notably than the colonies of Corinth, connected in her later history with the development of commerce, and in particular with the traffic in corn from the shores of the North and West.²⁰ But this traffic was a consequence, not a cause of the early Milesian settlements beyond the straits of Bosporus, as is shown plainly by the geographical line of their advance. Cyzicus, Sinope and Trapezus belong to the eighth century B.C.; the remaining colonies on the southern coast may have followed shortly after the foundation of Trapezus, but tradition separated by more than a hundred years the settlement of Istrus, Tyre and Olbia in the North-West from the foundation of Sinope in 770 B.C.; Panticapaeum, Thessalonica and Tanais in the extreme North follow a generation later; and last of all come the settlements in the West (Tomis, Odessus and Apollonia), founded in the first half of the sixth century.²¹ These dates are, of course, only approximate, but they must be taken as giving us, at least, a correct sequence. It follows that Milesian exploration was for long confined to the southern coast, and only ventured into the unknown regions of the North-West and North after more than a century's familiarity with the waters of the Euxine.

It would be idle to deny the adventurous character of the Ionian sailor, and Herodotus bears witness to the fact that the colonies of the Euxine were later regarded mainly as centres of export for trade;²² but the facts which we have cited show that the prospect of traffic in corn was not the motive which first drew settlers from Miletus so far from home, for it was precisely in the regions of Tomis, Odessus, Olbia and Panticapaeum that trade had afterwards its most important courses.²³ Sinope is the type of the earliest Milesian settlements, and Mr. Loat has taught us to see the history of Sinope in a new light.²⁴ Her unrivalled position as mistress of the Euxine gave her in later centuries an unfailing source of wealth, but it is plain that her position as the distributing centre for the trade of the Euxine was slow in bringing her prosperity. Such a position depended for its importance on the development of trade between the straits of Bosporus and the North, and the fact that Sinope had to be refounded about the middle of the seventh century B.C. shows that her fortunes must for long have been low. Almost certainly, for the first hundred years of her existence, her main income must have been from the local fisheries and the cultivation of her territory on the mainland.²⁵ It is interesting to note that Cyzicus, founded according to tradition about the same time as Sinope, took for the device of her coinage, not any symbol of her traffic as an emporium, but the tunny, in

²⁰ Cf. E. von Stern, in *Clio*, 1900, *s.v. Hermea*, 1915. But Prof. Myres goes too far when he says (loc. cit. p. 82) 'it is the Pontic who, as we well know, which was the primary motive of Pontic colonisation.'

²¹ The dates will be found in *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 26. They are fully discussed

in Beloch, op. cit. L.2, pp. 218-238.

²² Her. iv. 21.

²³ Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermea*, 1915 (pp. 165-172 and 308-314).

²⁴ Cf. W. Loat, *J.H.S.* 1910, pp. 1-10.

²⁵ Ibid. pp. 2-3; Strabo, 545-B.

recognition of her income as a town of fishermen.²¹ Both towns were founded on sites admirably chosen for purposes of trade, but both seem to have been mainly dependent on local industry and agriculture for their early prosperity. This is what we should expect from settlements founded when Milatus was only beginning to realise her commercial future.

The connexion which we have here noticed between the early foundation of colonies and the subsequent development of trade-routes is of vital importance for our whole subject. Our evidence for the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. points so plainly to the existence of commercial relations between the colonies and their mother-states that we are apt to conclude that the colonies were originally founded in consequence of those relations; but in almost every instance it is possible to show, at least as a probability, that it was rather the existence of colonies in a certain area which later created the commercial connection. In Chalcidice and Thessaly, for example the early colonies of Eretria and Andros preceded by generations the sudden development towards the end of the sixth century of that mining industry which made the fortune first of Thasos, then of Athens and lastly of the Macedonian kings, and of which we are only now beginning to have clear knowledge.²² With the exception of Potidaea (not founded until after 600 B.C.),²³ the sites of the various Chalcidic colonies are obviously better suited for agricultural settlements in what has been styled 'the Greek Riviera,' than for towns destined to be centres of trade. So, too, in Italy and Sicily the earliest settlements are not those most obviously chosen for reasons of commerce. Cyrene, the earliest Greek settlement in the West, had no regular port. Sybaris and Croton became later great commercial cities, but their trade was due not to their commanding positions, but to the fertile territory which they commanded in the interior. In Sicily, Naxos was evidently chosen as a desirable site by sailors approaching from the sea, but it was not in any way marked out as a natural centre for sea-trade. Syracuse, perhaps the ideal Greek colony, had all the advantages of a great commercial and imperial site; but Agrigentum and Selinus, to name two of the most prosperous colonies in Sicily, owed their prosperity almost entirely to the fertility of the neighbouring land.²⁴ We shall see later that our first glimpse into the politics of a Sicilian town shows a society founded on the basis of land-tenure, not on a system of commercial capitalism.²⁵ But perhaps the most interesting example of a region, originally agricultural which was transformed by later commercial enterprise, is to be found in the outlying region of Cyrenaica. In the sixth and fifth centuries this region owed its importance mainly to the export of its famous local herb, the *silphium*, and *Bittero silphior* passed as a proverb among the merchants of Greece.²⁶ But we have only to read an account of the sites chosen by the Greeks for their new foundations to

²¹ B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* (ed. 2), p. 323.

²² Cf. Perdrizet, in *Clio*, 1919 ('Sappho's'), pp. 1-27.

²³ Cf. Nic. Dam. fr. 60 (*P. H. G.* iii. 3).

²⁴ Cf. for a most instructive commentary on these sites, Freeman's *History of Sicily*, vol. 1.

²⁵ Her. vi. 162.

²⁶ Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v.

understand how little these early settlers cared for the conveniences of transit by sea. Cyrene itself is situated on the heights of a line of cliffs rising steeply from a low-lying shore.²⁷ A community of traders would have chosen a port as the site of their new home, but the Greeks, as Herodotus tells us,²⁸ soon moved from the island on which they had first landed to this more inaccessible site; for behind Cyrene stretch those plains which even the first settlers could see to be almost unvalued for the mildness of their climate and for fertility of soil.²⁹ Later, these plains were to be made famous by the discovery of the virtues of *silphium*, but the sudden development of this industry dates apparently from the reign of Batus the Fortunate (c. 590–580 B.C.), two generations later than the foundation of the colony.³⁰ When the fortunate merchant-king came to organise the export of his precious commodity, he must have found it difficult to convey his bales down the steep cliffs to the shore; modern explorers have found it difficult to smuggle away the treasures unearthed by the spades of their workmen.³¹ No better proof could be required that the men who first founded Cyrene were bent on cultivating a soil which promised to yield the abundance which had failed them at home rather than on establishing a centre for trade with the homocountry.

There is, therefore, much ground for saying that the earliest Greek settlements were not mainly due to the promptings of commercial enterprise; but, as we pass on to the later chapters of Greek colonial history, we shall see that motives of commerce come to be of increasing importance. The conscious development of that policy, either by a capable government at home or by the constant working of racial rivalry, will be discussed in a later chapter. It only remains, for the present, to note yet another difference between ancient and modern colonisation which, though often overlooked, is of the most profound significance. For centuries the Christian religion has been a main factor in determining the character of Western civilisation, and the stimulus which it has given to the expansion and diffusion of the European races is written on every page of the history of modern colonisation. That stimulus is without a counterpart in the history of the Greek settlements. It is not hereby meant that the Greeks were not a religious people. Religion played a leading part in their history; above all, during the earlier period with which we are dealing. But in the history of their colonisation religion, though a force, was a force which acted rather for the preservation of national sentiment than as a motive for travel and conquest. The theory, once made so popular by Ernest Curtius in a brilliant chapter, that the priests of Delphi organised the movement of colonisation with the intention of creating a wide sphere of Hellenic influence in the Mediterranean world, is as contrary

²⁷ The most recent account is to be found in the *Annual* of B.S.A., 1898–9, pp. 113–140, by H. Wald-Slimpelli (with notes by Prof. Staudenmaier).

²⁸ Her. iv. 106–9.

²⁹ Her. iv. 199; Diod. iii. 49; Strabo, p.

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837; cf. Phil. Pyth. ix. 9.

³⁰ The history of the Battis Dynasty is fully discussed by Beloch, op. cit. i. 2, pp. 216–217.

³¹ Cf. the account by R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher of their expeditions to Cyrene (1866 f.).

to the psychology of the Greek religion as it is destitute of historical evidence.¹² When the Greeks founded their earliest settlements in the West and on the Euxine, their religion had not yet developed from a local cult to a universal faith. Men were content to worship the gods of their fathers in their own homes, and no thought of evangelising other nations ever came to trouble their prayer. Hence the missionary, so familiar a figure in the history of modern colonisation, plays no part in the story of the Greek colonies; and he was to remain unknown in the ancient world until the sophists destroyed all intelligent faith in the local cults, thereby paving the way for the universal creeds of the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Cynics. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. no Greek left his home with the thought that he was the bearer of a higher faith as well as of a higher culture. Whatever other motive influenced the foundation of the early settlements, the motive of religious enthusiasm was entirely wanting; and its absence will become notable when we consider the relations of the Greek settlers with the native tribes whom they displaced. The ancient Greek had the spirit of a trader and an adventurer, but he was never an apostle.

II.—*The Formation of a Greek Colony.*

It is important, when speaking of the formation of a Greek colony, to remember that we know very little indeed of the manner in which the settlements of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. came into existence. For the settlements, much fewer in number, of the fifth and fourth centuries we have abundant information in Thucydides and Diodorus,¹³ and we know that in this period the process of founding a colony had been reduced to certain legal forms; the inscription relating to the foundation of Breu towards the end of the fifth century is a contemporary and authentic document.¹⁴ But for the earlier period our information is very slight, and often of doubtful value. There must have been "foundation-legends" current about many of the cities of historical Greece. Herodotus has preserved a few of them,¹⁵ and we get a few more from Strabo and other late compilers, but no Greek historian had the happy idea of collecting and collating these various legends, and for the most part we are here once more in the realm of conjecture or of uncertain deductions.

Certain characteristics seem to be common to foundations of all periods. There seems always, for example, to have been an *akarissos* to lead the colonists (for we may ignore the modern criticism which finds local deities or

¹² Cf. Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.*, i. ss. 3 and 4. His monograph, *Die Griechen als Meister des Colonisations* (1882), is more valuable and equally suggestive. It has been reprinted in his *Akkretion und Agoraebau*, iii. (1889), pp. 76–80.

¹³ Cf. especially Th. i. 27 (Epidauros) 1 iii.

92 3 (Hermione); Diod. vii. 10, ss. 3 (Thurii).

¹⁴ Hicks and Hill, No. 41; cf. Gradenberger, *Syllago* (vol. 2), 933 (Cotyra nigræ); also in C. Michael, *Record* (1900), No. 72.

¹⁵ The most important passage is ss. 120–160 (Cyrus).

etiological fictions in the names of Phalanthus or Battus⁶⁰), and there must always have been some kind of division of land. The part which Delphi played in giving its sanction to the new foundations is not so certain. The earliest authentic witness to the custom of seeking an oracle at Delphi is to be found in a passage of Herodotus, where he tells that the Spartan Doris led forth a colony, towards the end of the sixth century B.C., 'without consulting the oracle as to his destination, or doing any of the accustomed acts.'⁶¹ This proves that the custom of getting the Delphic sanction goes back well beyond the middle of the sixth century; but it is uncertain how soon Delphi rose to the position of prominence which we know it to have held in historical times,⁶² and in general it is well not to insist too much on the action of Delphi in the early days of Greek history. Moreover, the oracles relating to the foundation of the early colonies, some of which have been preserved by Diodorus,⁶³ give little confidence in the tradition which they are supposed to represent. Their style is quite unlike the authentic documents preserved by Herodotus, and their subject-matter proves them to be late and valueless forgeries.⁶⁴

In the absence of detailed information we must have recourse once more to general deductions from the conditions of early Greek society and the subsequent development of the colonies themselves, making what use we can of the few facts that have been preserved to us. It is natural to divide our discussion into two parts, and to treat first of the steps taken before the actual foundation, and then of the manner in which the Greek settlers seem usually to have dealt with the problems which confronted them in their new homes.

The foundation of a Greek *δημοσία* differed in one all-important respect from the normal growth of a modern colony. To-day European expansion is a gradual process. Men go out, sometimes alone, sometimes in small groups, to make a private settlement in a new country; and in proportion to the sturdiness with which this stream of emigration can be supplied from the mother-country is the success of each state in its work of colonisation. Germany has developed a colonial policy under pressure of over-population at home. France has failed to assimilate her conquests because her population has failed her at home, and in the sixteenth century the American colonies were won for England because the English were able to 'crowd on, and crowd out the Dutch.'⁶⁵ But Greek colonisation was conducted on

⁶⁰ For Battus as a mere eponym, cf. Beloch, op. cit. 1, 2, p. 216. The existence of Phalanthus was first questioned by Paul Smidtewka in his brilliant monograph, *Kyrene* (1897), and later by Sir Arthur Evans in his *Handbook of Theraeans*. The arguments are elaborate, but not convincing; and the present writer is a firm believer in the value of oral tradition.

⁶¹ Her. v. 42.

⁶² Beloch, op. cit. 1, 1, pp. 330-1.

⁶³ Diod. viii. 17, 21, 23; cf. Strabo, pp. 262, 309, 278.

⁶⁴ The oracle relating to Battus in Her. iv. 155 is also suspect. There is a longer alternative in Diod. viii. 29, and since Battus is a Libyan name, local records carry their own confirmation. For legend of Battus, cf. Cereke, *Hermes*, 1906, p. 448.

⁶⁵ Cf. Cambridge Modern History, vol. ii, p. 749.

different lines. The need of expansion was a gradual growth, the discovery of a new home was also, probably, a gradual process; but the actual foundation of a colony was a single enterprise, conducted by a single leader and shared in by a definite number of settlers. In the inscriptions of *Brea* and *Corycra nigri*, which have come down to us, clear provisions are made for the allotment of land in the new territory,²² and these provisions presuppose that only those who were duly recognised as *ētōkoi*, sharers in the colonial enterprise, had a right to put in a claim. We have no such clear evidence for the earlier foundations, and it is possible that the first colonies were established with less minute regulation; but the allotment of land was always a characteristic feature of Greek foundations, and the importance which, as we shall see, was later attached to the possession of 'original lots' suggests that on this point Greek methods of colonisation remained always much the same.²³ The consequences of this fact on the later history of the Greek colonies were, of course, immense. Greek colonies never expanded in the sense in which modern colonies expand. Each *ētōkia* was from the first a *polis*; and, though later fresh colonists (*ētōkoi*) might be invited under promise of receiving recognition by an allotment of land,²⁴ the control of local politics and local administration must always have remained mainly in the hands of those who could claim the title of original possessors.

As to the actual organisation of the early colonial expeditions we know very little. We have seen that they belong to a time when Greece was ceasing to be a feudal society, when towns were beginning to grow, and when, though the population was still mainly agricultural, power and influence were coming more and more into the hands of those who lived in the towns. In such a society, it is natural to suppose that the leader, round whom a band of emigrants would collect, even though they were mostly drawn from a discontented peasant-class, would be himself a member of the influential classes in the town; this would almost certainly be the case in the later stages of Greek colonisation, when, as may often have happened, the final impulse to emigration was due to the ambitions of enterprising small traders. What is certain is that a Greek colony was never a motley gathering of adventurers, grouping themselves together under no definite leadership. It was essentially a state-enterprise, organised for the public good and placed under the leadership of a competent *oikistes*. Sometimes, apparently for local reasons which we shall discuss more than one leader was appointed to the new colony. Thus *Gela* claimed as its 'oikistes' Antiphemus of Rhodice and Eutimus of Crete, and *Rimera* had as many as three.²⁵ But we have no reason to think that a Greek colony was ever sent out from the mother-state without its duly appointed leader. Of the thirteen colonies mentioned by Thucydides in the opening chapters of his sixth book, ten are definitely

²² Cf. the quotations in *Athenian Greek Commonwealth*, p. 247.

²³ Cf. *Ar. Pol.* 1310 &c.

²⁴ Cf. *Hec.* IV. 128.

²⁵ Cf. Th. VI. 4, 5. Sometimes one man seems to have acted as 'oikist' to two colonies: e.g. Theseus to Naxos and Leontini (Th. VI. 3).

stated to have had 'oecists,' whose names are given. It is only fair to conclude that in all cases our information would be equally precise if it were complete.

Of greater importance is the question, how far the men who went out together under the leadership of an 'oecist' were members of one state. It has sometimes been urged that the settlements made in the early days of Greek colonisation were of a very mixed population.²² But, on the other hand, no feature of Greek colonial history is more remarkable than the fact that each colony acquired from the first a distinctly individual character, and in particular that each colony felt itself bound by the strongest possible ties to foster its relations with the mother-state. These facts are hardly to be reconciled with the theory that the early settlements grew out of motley gatherings, and it is, therefore, well to examine the evidence on which the theory is based.

In the first place, we must insist once more on the necessity of distinguishing between the earlier and later Greek colonies. There is abundant evidence that in the fifth and fourth centuries the population of many of the chief colonies was of a very mixed character; but this evidence is of no value when we consider the differences which the lapse of three or four hundred years made in the Greek world. Alcibiades, for example, in a famous passage of Thucydides,²³ is made to encourage the Athenians in their plans for a Sicilian expedition by saying that the Sicilian states were lacking in patriotism owing to the mixed character of their populations: "οὐχὶον τε γὰρ ξυμβάτων πολιαρχοῦσιν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ πόδες ἔχουσι τὸν πολιτισμὸν τὰς μεταβολὰς επιδεσχόμενοι." History proves Alcibiades to have been wrong, and we must allow for this exaggeration of a partisan: but the fact to which he alludes can easily be explained by reference to the history of Sicily during the preceding century. Just seventy years earlier, Gelon had inaugurated his policy of transplanting to Syracuse large masses of the population of other Sicilian states,²⁴ and the troubled history of the next generation shows how fatal were the after-effects of the tyrant's high-handed policy. Alcibiades might well feel confident that Athenian arms would have little to fear in so distracted a country.²⁵ Again, it is certain that when the Athenians founded Thurii about ten years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, the new colony attracted all the restless elements of fifth-century Greece.²⁶ But the causes which gave rise to the foundation of Thurii were by no means so simple as those which occasioned the foundation of the earlier settlements. Thurii was essentially an imperial colony; it was founded, not to relieve an excessive population but for a purely political object, and the cautious Pericles seems to have been anxious to make the actual share of Athenians in the enterprise as small as he could. The later history of Thurii serves but to enforce the argument, for, in strong contrast with the loyalty of earlier settlements to

²² Cf. Stein, *History of Greece* (Eng. tr.), i. n. 21, note 1.

²³ Th. vi. 17. 2.

²⁴ Her. vi. 156; cf. Diod. xi. 72.

²⁵ Cf. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. p. 326.

²⁶ Cf. the list of tribes given in Diod. iii. 11.

their *μυρπούδες*, the citizens of Thurii severed their connexion with Athens within a few years of the foundation of their city.⁹¹ If we seek for a parallel to this effect at Imperial colonisation we shall find it, not in the history of early Greece but in the second foundation of Epidamnus attempted by Corinth in 435 B.C., or in the foundation of Heraclea in Thrace by Sparta during the early years of her war with Athens. Both of these settlements were intended for purely imperial purposes, and Thucydites tells us that both Sparta and Corinth invited volunteers from the whole Greek world to aid in each enterprise.⁹² The days were past when the states of Greece sent out colonists from the sheer necessity of finding some outlet for a growing populace. It had rather now become a difficulty to find men in sufficient numbers to enable them to develop their resources: still, like Australia and Rhodesia in similar circumstances to-day, Corinth and Sparta took refuge in a vigorous campaign of advertisement.

These later experiments in imperial policy do not throw any light on the origins of the earlier Greek settlements, but we have definite evidence that some of the earliest colonies arose from a mixture of different populations. Cyrene, the first of all Greek settlements in the West, was claimed in later days (though the tradition has been obscured by popular error) as the joint foundation of Chaleis and Euboean Cyrene.⁹³ Samps in Thrace was founded by Eretria and Andros,⁹⁴ and in Sicily Gela was founded by Rhodes and Crete, and Himera by Chalcidians from Zanclæ together with some Dorian refugees from Syracuse.⁹⁵ These are only a few examples which have been preserved to us by the chance of time, and there is no reason to suppose that parallel instances were not to be found in every quarter of the Greek colonial world; but it is important to observe how much these foundations differ from the settlement of Thurii or Heraclea in the fifth century. These colonies were not formed from a medley of several states and races. In each instance the names of the states concerned are mentioned, and it is notable that they had obvious ties of neighbourhood and common interests, which might easily lead to a joint foundation. Chalcis and Cyrene were both towns of Euboea, Rhodes and Crete were both Dorian islands in the same quarter of the Mediterranean and on the same lines of commerce. Andros and Eretria were both Ionian, and we know from Strabo that the former was at one time a dependency of the Euboean town;⁹⁶ very possibly the prominent part played by Andros in the colonisation of Chalcidice is to be explained by the fact that she was under the dominion of Eretria at the period during which Chalcidice was colonised, and that Eretria used her population to further her own schemes in establishing a sphere of interest on the Thracian peninsula.⁹⁷ The only

⁹¹ Cf. Th. vi. 44, 2; viii. 93, 3; Dual. 23.
⁹² Cf. Result, *ibid.* p. 237.

⁹³ Th. i. 27, 4; iii. 92, 4.

⁹⁴ Strab. p. 243, who names Aeolian Cyrene; however the impossible date given by Knebelius (*cf.* Behach, *op. cit.* 1. 2, p. 242, note 3).

⁹⁵ Plat. *Qd.* 26, 57.

⁹⁶ Th. vi. 4, 3; 5, 1.

⁹⁷ Strab. p. 448; *πόλεων* δι- καιο- "Ἄρχεισιν Τεττανοῖς Καρπαῖς Αἴγαροις εἰσίν.

⁹⁸ I offer this as a possible explanation of a curious fact. The poverty of Andros was proverbial (Her. ciii. 3), though it had some

one of the settlements mentioned by Thucydides, which does not conform to these general characteristics, is Himera, and the language in which he describes its foundation is worth noting. He classes it as a colony of Zancle, but adds that, owing to the added element of Syracusean exiles, the language of the settlers was a mixture of the Chalcidic and Dorian dialects, whilst the institutions of the town (*τὰ εἵνεα*) were purely Chalcidic.⁶⁹ This is the language of a writer who has to comment on a curious phenomenon, and it is evident that Thucydides considered the mingling in one state of Dorian and Ionian elements a notable fact. In the preceding chapter he describes what must have been a more common occurrence. Dorian settlers came out to Sicily from Megara, under the leadership of Leontis. After one unsuccessful attempt at colonisation, they agreed to form a common state with the Chalcidians of Leontini; but the partnership soon broke down, and the Dorians were expelled.⁷⁰ What must have been the normal procedure is well shown in the foundation of Epidaurus. The town was properly a colony of Corecyra, but help was given by Corecyra's own mother-state, Corinth, who sent an "oecist" and a band of colonists; a few other settlers came from other states, but they were all of Dorian extraction (*τοῦ ἀλλού Δωρικῶν γένεος*).⁷¹

It is possible that, if we knew more of the history of the early Greek colonies, we might be able to add other examples no less singular than the story of Himera. Naukratis is an example that will occur to everyone, but the Greek settlement at Naukratis was in every way a peculiar one.⁷² A more difficult problem is presented by the history of Cyrene. When Democritus (c. 540 B.C.) carried through his democratic reforms in that state, we are told that he created three tribes: one for the Theraeans and their *τερποίσαι*, one for the Peloponnesians and Cretans and one for all the islanders.⁷³ Now Cyrene was, properly speaking, a foundation of Thera. Why, then, do we hear of so many foreign elements? Obviously, the population of the colony was of a very mixed character within a century of its foundation; but we must remember that the history of Cyrene is full of difficult problems. Herodotus tells us that the original settlers remained in possession of their holdings for only two generations, and that in the third generation, under Battus the Fortunate, an offer being made of free distribution of land, Greeks from all parts flocked to the state, and further that, shortly before the reforms of Democritus, 7,000 hoplites had been killed in battle against the Libyans.⁷⁴ These facts help to explain the disintegration of the settlement, which seems to have taken place during the early part of the sixth century, though we cannot wholly understand the political and economic causes which lie behind them; and the question is further complicated by the doubt which

fertile land (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Andros). It is hard to see on any other hypothesis how it could afford to found four colonies. For the towns of Chalcidice, cf. E. Harrison in *O.Q.* 1912.

⁶⁹ Th. vi. 5, 2.

⁷⁰ Th. vi. 4, 4.

⁷¹ Th. i. 24, 1.

⁷² Cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. 7.

⁷³ Her. iii. 161.

⁷⁴ Her. iv. 159, 160.

surrounds the earliest Greek settlements in this region.⁷¹ But problems of this nature are in no way surprising when we consider how little we know of Greek colonial history. The legal facts of that history are plain enough. Greek tradition was unanimous in ascribing the foundation of each colony to one or two states, whom custom always honoured as *μητρούλες*; and the universal respect accorded to this custom is only made more striking by the single flagrant exception of Coremni's relations with her mother-state.⁷² Such evidence is decisive in showing that the Greek settlements were not the result of haphazard emigration, but had each distinct national and local traditions of their own.

We know practically nothing of the internal movements which led in each case to the emigration of fresh settlers from the mother-country; but what we have said in the preceding chapter as to the main causes of Greek colonisation only confirms our view that in the majority of these foundations the great bulk of the settlers in a new colony came almost entirely from one state. The relations of state with state were much less advanced in Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries than they were in later times, and Thucydides himself remarks on the absence of treaties and alliances in the history of early Greece.⁷³ When we remember that colonies were usually sent out owing to the pressure of a growing rural population, we find it difficult to admit that more than one state could easily have concerted a joint emigration, except under conditions which made inter-communication peculiarly easy; the joint colonies of Eretria and Andros have already been cited as typical examples. Once an expedition had been decided on, there is every reason to suppose that certain adventurous spirits would offer their services, and we may, perhaps, imagine that these would be among the foremost in enterprise and nautical experience. But the main body of the emigrants would be of one stock, most of them would belong to the party under the pressure of a common necessity; and as they sailed from their mother-country they would go forth to a new home, speaking one language and trained to the same traditional customs.

It would be interesting to know how the settlers of the home-country first came to know of a hopeful site for their new foundation. Greek tradition held that each band of emigrants went forth under the divine mandate of Apollo, and with its destination defined in a more or less cryptic oracle. The tradition contains at least this amount of truth, that the colonists never left their homes without some idea of their future choice. Sites such as those chosen by the Greeks in almost every quarter of the Mediterranean were not chosen by happy accident, and, in a recent description of the Greek colonies on the northern shore of the Euxine, von Stern is emphatic that the favourable position of even the most remote sites was evidently well known to the Greek settlers before they eventually made their home there.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Grecika ('Das Mykenidion in Kyrene,' in *Hermes*, 1896, p. 478) holds that the episode in the first tribe represents an older stock of Greek settlers than the colonists from Thera.

⁷² Th. I. 25, Her. iii. 49.

⁷³ Th. I. 13, 3.

⁷⁴ K. von Stern, in *Hermes*, 1912, pp. 16-22.

The position of the Sicilian towns will occur to everyone as a striking proof of the eye which Greek colonists had for commanding sites, though it is worth noting that even they could afford to learn by experience. Naxos, the earliest Sicilian colony, is less favourably situated than Syracuse; and in the East the settlers who chose Chaleond in preference to Byzantium became proverbial for their blindness.²¹

A comparison of the different sites chosen by the Greeks for their settlements in both East and West would, if made from personal experience, be sure to lead to interesting results.²² Sometimes the settlers seem to have brought with them from their home an inclination for a particular type of site. Massala must have reminded many of its Phoenician inhabitants of their rocky home in Asia Minor, and both Syracuse and Potidaea suggest some of the characteristics of *bimbris Coriathē*. In general, it is important to notice that the Greek colonists looked on fertile land as no less essential to a favourable site than a good harbour. The Greek settler was always a farmer as well as a sailor, and, as we have seen in our former chapter, his interests by land were often greater than his interests by sea.²³ The particular direction which these interests might take varied naturally with the capacity of the land which they cultivated, and the Greek settlers were versatile. In Massalia they grew the vine and olive;²⁴ Sicily and Italy were famous for their vines and their flocks of sheep; in Cyrene we have seen that the *silphium* made the fortune of a kingdom; and in the northern regions of the Black Sea a corn-trade developed which was eventually to grow into a capitalist monopoly, supplying all Greece with its daily bread.²⁵ On occasion the Greeks became miners, and the *tegma* of Thasos afforded for a time the principal gold-supply of the ancient world.²⁶ So, too, we find an enterprising member of the Bacchini family becoming prince of an Epirot tribe in order to gain control of the silver mines in their territory.²⁷ Many of these interests were subsequent to the foundation of the colony, but they show how quick the Greek was to seize upon any opportunity offered him by the land in which he had set up his new home.

Once the settlers had chosen their site, the work which lay before them may be summed up in two lines of the *Odyssey*:

Ἄρψι δὲ τεῖχος θάσας πόλει ταῖς εἰσοδοῖς,
Καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς τέσσερες καὶ εἴσοδοις ἀποτάξει.—*Od. vi. 9-10.*

Time has obliterated all traces of the early towns thus built; and the striking remains still to be seen on some of their sites belong to a later period in

²¹ Her. iv. 141; Strabo, p. 329.

²² By far the best and most suggestive is Freeman's account of the Sicilian sites in his *History of Sicily*, vol. 1; cf. also his interesting account of the way in which the Sikels learnt from the Greeks, in vol. 2, n. 1.

²³ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 221, for the contrast with the Phoenician settlements.

²⁴ Strabo, p. 170. Fishing was also of great

importance—as also, for example, at Larin (cf. Evans, *Hannibal of Tarentum*, on types of quarry and Byzantium (*Ar. Pol.* 1291 n).

²⁵ Von Soden, *loc. cit.* p. 202; for further references, cf. T. R. Glover, *From Pericles to Philip*, pp. 291-306.

²⁶ Perikles, *Ode*, 1010.

²⁷ Strabo, p. 326.

their development. Only in Naucratis can we form a fairly complete picture of the earliest form of a Greek settlement; but the sites unveiled by the work of the Egyptian Exploration Fund are in no way typical of an ordinary Greek colony. Naucratis was not, indeed, a colony (*diοκεία*) in the strict sense of the term. Herodotus speaks of it as an *ἐπωπόια*,²⁸ and we can nowhere better understand the distinction between the two terms. The essence of a Greek colony was that it was a fully developed city-state, with territory in possession of the citizens. Naucratis was not a regularly constituted *πόλις*; it had no territory, but had grown up, thanks to the patronage of the Egyptian kings, and, as Professor Percy Gardner well points out, the large building, partly storehouse, it would seem, and partly place of refuge, whose foundations have been unearthed in modern times, show plainly that to this and Greek traders were here strangers living in the midst of enemies, not citizens living in their own home.²⁹ It has sometimes been thought that many of the later Greek colonies had their origins in *ἐπωπίαι* such as that of Naucratis.³⁰ We know so little about the early days of Greek colonisation that no definite answer can be given to the question. In the more remote regions of Greek colonisation it is quite probable that settlements were made of a less regular type. Only interests of trade were likely to bring colonists so far, and they would be less likely to wish to settle permanently in so distant a home. Herodotus, for example, speaks of the Milesian settlements on the northern shore of the Euxine as *ἐπωπίαι*,³¹ and one of the Massaliot settlements in Spain was known as Emporium even in the days of Strabo.³² These settlements were made in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, when Greek colonisation had become almost entirely a policy of commercial interests, and it is probable that the trading-station was then as common as the regular colony along more distant trade-routes; but in the earlier period of colonisation it is more likely that the full type of *diοκεία* prevailed. Naucratis is not, we must repeat, in any way characteristic of Greek methods of colonisation. Here alone did the Greek settler come in contact with a civilisation more advanced than his own, and it was natural that he should be unable to establish himself with full security on Egyptian soil.

In the foundation of an ordinary *diοκεία* perhaps the most important act was the allotment of territory. Greek law prescribed that the settler who went out with a band of colonists lost his rights of citizenship at home;³³ the possession of an allotment made him a citizen of the new state. Hence the "γῆς διαδοχεῖς" became the charter of colonial citizenship, and Aristotle tells us that in many towns there was a law forbidding the citizens to sell their original allotments.³⁴ It was for this reason, too, that

²⁸ Her. ii. 179.

²⁹ P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 209-211; the exact purpose of this building is not, however, clear. It was not the 'Pantheonion.'

³⁰ Cf., for example, Zimmeis, *Greek Com-*

munities, p. 250.

³¹ Her. iv. 24.

³² Strato, pp. 159-160.

³³ Cf. Nauck, *Das gr. Rechtswesen*, pp. 62-63.

³⁴ Ar. *Pol.* 1316 a., 1329 a.

when Arcesilaus wished to attract fresh settlers to Cyrene, he made an offer of a fresh division of land to any who cared to make themselves citizens of his kingdom.²⁰ An interesting example of the importance attached to the possession of these lots is given by an incident in the history of Sybaris in the fifth century. An attempt was made by the survivors of the old city to make a second foundation with the aid of Greek settlers from all parts under Athenian protection. The new state was formally constituted, but was dissolved almost immediately. It was found that the original Sybarites claimed for themselves the leading magistracies, and thereby so controlled the allotment as to give themselves all the land in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, whilst the strangers were sent to the outlying districts.²¹ The foundation of Thurii, which was a consequence of this failure, has been elaborately described by Diodorus, and is a good example of the way in which the democracy of Athens succeeded in imprinting its own character on the constitutions of its subject-states. The land was divided in equal allotments, and all relics of aristocratic tradition were destroyed, as in Cyrene after the reforms of Democritus, by basing the ten tribes of the new constitution on principles of local distribution, not of kindred.²² What principle underlay the allotments of early Greek colonies we do not know, but in the next chapter we shall see that, where we can trace the political history of a colony, we find it to be largely dependent in early times on the possession of land. This fact alone shows how important was the distribution of allotments at the foundation of the new colony.

One fact connected with the foundation of a Greek colony remains to be discussed. How did the new-comers treat the natives whom they dislodged from their possession? Perhaps no lost chapter of Greek history is so much to be regretted as the narrative of the first efforts made by the Greek settlers to gain a footing in the land which they meant to occupy. A few facts, obscured by tradition, have been preserved in our authorities; others have been only recently revealed by the spade of the excavator, and the fragmentary story which we can thus obtain shows great variety in the fortunes of the Greek settlers in the different spheres of their activity.

As a rule, these settlers came into contact with native tribes of much ruder civilisation than their own. The Scythian tribes of the extreme north-east, the Thracians, the Epirots, the Britons and Cumrians, the Sikels and Sicans, the Celtic tribes around Massalia, the Iberians of the Spanish coast, and the Libyans near Cyrene were of varied character and culture, but none were the equal of the Greeks. In consequence, a Greek settlement was soon able to maintain its existence, usually, we must imagine, by force of arms, but sometimes owing to the friendly attitude of some native tribe. At Massalia, for example, tradition taught that the first settlers were treated with great kindness by the native prince,²³ and Herodotus tells in a familiar

²⁰ Her. vii. 163: *εντυπω ταῖς άργα τοῖς* *τοῖς δικαιούσι*.

²¹ Diod. xii. 2; Ac. Pos. 1893 A; cf. Bonell, op. cit. iii. p. 520.

²² Cf. Bonell, op. cit. iii. p. 533. Von Stein *loc. cit.* pp. 175-71 discusses the allotment of land in the Pontic colony, Chersonesus.

²³ Cf. Julian, *Hist. de la Grecie*, 1. pp. 201-5.

story how the prince of the Tartessians, Arganthous, befriended the Phoenician merchants who came to his shores during his long reign.¹¹ But, on the other hand, the arrival of a Greek colony must often have been a signal for war. The commanding sites so often chosen by the settlers appealed to them, we must presume, mainly for reasons of strategic defence, and the possession of a hill must often have given the settlers a comfortable feeling of security against native raids.¹² Sometimes the neighbourhood of a powerful tribe was a permanent menace to the existence of the colony. The Sikels were, for long, dangerous neighbours to the Greek towns in Sicily, and the towns of southern Italy finally succumbed to the attacks of the tribes of the interior.

Once fairly established, the Greeks rarely sought to extend their influence inland; for the most part, they were content to hold their own, or to plant a series of smaller settlements along an important coastline. The 'land-empires' of Sybaris, Crotia, Syracuse and Marseilles are notable exceptions to this rule, and we shall have more to say of these in the following chapter; but as a rule the Greek confined himself to the coast. This fact forms, perhaps, the most essential difference between Roman and Greek methods of expansion. The Roman *negotiator* was everywhere: he was to be found in Britain, beyond the Rhine, along the Danube, and in the countries of the East. The Greek trader never penetrated far into the interior. Where obvious commercial advantages lay within easy reach, he was too enterprising a speculator to let slip the occasion of profit. On the Adriatic and in Thrace we have seen him controlling the working of mines by native tribes, on the northern shores of the Euxine a whole nation tilled under the direction of the merchants of Olbia;¹³ in Cyrenaica the Greeks organised the gathering of the *silphium* by Libyan workers.¹⁴ But all these activities were accidental, and the Greek settlers never cared to leave the coast and make their homes inland. Like the cities of the Asiatic coast, their settlements were nearly always at the head of some trade route by land, which enabled them to act as carriers to the Greek world of goods produced or made in the interior.

Occasionally we have evidence that the Greek settlers reduced the former occupiers of the soil to the level of serfs, in much the same way as the Israelites under Joshua made the Gabaonites their servants. The *Kelλύποι*, mentioned by Herodotus as the slaves of the Syracusean oligarchs, are the most familiar example of this type of servitude; they seem to have been mainly conquered Sikels: truly 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'.¹⁵ Another example is to be found in the Dorian colony of Heraclea on the south-western shore of the Euxine. Here we are told by Strabo,¹⁶

¹¹ Her. I. 183; cf. for some ultimate criticism Th. Reinach in *Roman des Grecs grecques*, 1892, pp. 40-48.

¹² Cf. for an interesting discussion on this point a controversy between Mr. B. Weld-Bundell and Prof. Studnicka in the *Inscript*

of R.S.A. (1893-4), pp. v-16.

¹³ Her. IV. 17, 18; cf. von Spurk, loc. cit. pp. 165-172.

¹⁴ Diod. III. 49.

¹⁵ Her. vi. 165, &c.; Bund., op. cit. i. p. 389.

¹⁶ Strabo, p. 742.

that the Greek settlers made serfs of the native tribe of the Macrandaunoi, allowing them the right of barter, provided they did not exercise it outside the territory of the colony. We have, I think, no further evidence of similar systems of serfdom; but Greek colonisation rested primarily on conquest, and it is very natural to suppose that relations between land-lord and tiller of the soil may often have coincided with the relations of master and serf. There was certainly nothing in Greek notions of society to discourage the practice. Aristotle would have justified it as being entirely to the advantage of the serf.¹⁰²

Commercial enterprise must often have led the Greeks to enter into the closest relations of daily life with the neighbouring tribes of the interior; and it is important to remember how many advantages in favour of easy intercourse with the natives were granted to the Greek settlers, though they are now for the most part denied to modern colonists. In their relation to the work of assimilation carried out by the Roman Empire, these advantages have been emphasized by the late Lord Cromer in his suggestive essay on *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*,¹⁰³ and the Romans had, in this respect, much the same advantages as the Greeks. There was neither religious question nor colour-question in the ancient world. We have already remarked on the difference made by the absence of the former to Greek colonisation. Undisturbed by the duty of preaching a gospel, the Greek was relieved of the many embarrassing questions to which the activities of modern missionaries often give rise. To understand how freely Greeks could intermarry with natives not separated from them by any distinction of colour, we have only to remember that Cimon was the son of a Thracian woman, Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian prince.¹⁰⁴ If the Philistines did not think it beneath them to intermarry with native families, we can understand how many barriers were broken down by the absence of all reason for colour-prejudice; for in every sphere of their colonising activity, the Greeks met races which, though socially and intellectually their inferiors, were still, in feature and colour, of the same general type. Even the Libyan tribes, of which we have been speaking were, it is well to remind ourselves, not negroes, but Berbers.¹⁰⁵

But though fusion with native peoples was much facilitated by the absence of prejudice arising from differences either of colour or of religion, it would be a great mistake to think that the Greeks had little regard for the preservation of their national existence. In the more remote regions of the Greek colonial world intermarriage with natives seems to have been common, and we can well understand that, where intercourse with the rest of the Greek world was rare and difficult, the life of the Greek settlers must gradually have become merged in the life of the surrounding nations. In

¹⁰² Cf. especially *Pel.* 1330 A.

¹⁰³ Lord Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, pp. 61-67, 138-141.

¹⁰⁴ Her. vi. 40; Plut. Cim. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Prof. Percy Gardner has pointed out to me that there is in the British Museum a bronze head from Cyprus, which indicates a distinct mixture of Greek and Berber.

the article on the Pontic colonies to which we have so often referred, von Stern shows how the Greeks of the kingdom of the Thracian Bosphorus gradually took on many of the manners and customs of their Scythian neighbours, until in the fourth century B.C. there arose what he calls a *Mischkultur*, composed partly of Scythian, partly of old Ionian elements, and with many curious analogies to the culture displayed by the Mycenaean tombs.²² But this was the exception. For the most part, Greeks were jealous of national tradition, and even in these remote regions it is noteworthy that the Dorian town, Chersones, a colony of the Pontic Heraeae, was far more tenacious of its national customs than the neighbouring Ionian settlements, and preserved until late in the Christian era its character of a purely Greek πόλις.²³ So, too, in the west, Tarentum and Syracuse preserved their Hellenic atmosphere long after the Achaeans and Ionian towns, with the exception of Naples, had become merged in a common Italian cultura. Even in Naples the Ionians were not able to preserve entirely their national integrity: for, on the occasion of some internal dissension, they called in settlers from Campania to take the place of those who had been expelled, and were thus forced, as Strabo puts it, 'having made enemies of their friends, to dwell in the most friendly relations with their most deadly enemies.'²⁴ It is all the more remarkable that, even in Strabo's time, Naples should still be the town where most traces of Greek life were to be found in Italy.

In conclusion, it will be of interest to quote from a very different source similar testimony as to the tenacious quality of the Greek character and genius. Some years ago a bust was discovered in the south of Spain, near the site of an ancient Phocaean colony. After some discussion as to its provenance, it was assigned by a distinguished French critic to an unknown local sculptor of the fifth century B.C., seeking to imitate at a distance the work of his famous contemporaries on the Greek mainland. The words in which the critic sums up his judgment will be of interest in connexion with our subject, as showing how Greek art could still preserve its native genius in the midst of foreign influences: 'Il est espagnol par le modèle et les modèles, phénicien peut-être par les bijoux; il est grec, purement grec, par le style.'²⁵

III.—*Political Development and Relations with the Mother-State.*

Thanks to the discovery in modern times of the Aristotelian *Αθηναϊκή Πολιτεία*, we are beginning to understand how little we know of the constitutional history of Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries; and (a result of no less importance), we are also beginning to realise that the

²² Cf. von Stern, loc. cit. pp. 190-204.

²³ Cf. ibid. pp. 175-7, 223.

²⁴ Strabo, p. 240. The whole chapter is of imperial interest.

²⁵ Th. Reinach, 'La tête d'Eros au musée du Louvre,' *Bulletin des études grecques*, 1898.

constitutional history of Greece is not to be summed up in the history of the Athenian and Spartan constitutions. For the history of Greek colonisation Corinth, Megara, Eretria, Chalcis, Miletus, and Phocaea are of greater importance than either Athens or Sparta. Yet of these towns Corinth is the only one where we can trace, even in outline, a continuous history of constitutional development; and of the colonies founded in the eighth and seventh centuries, Syracuse and Cyrene are the only two of whose constitutional history we have any knowledge before the fifth century B.C. As to the history of other colonies we have only stray statements, sometimes of doubtful historical value. At Massalia, for example, we know that a stringently narrow oligarchy was gradually altered to a more democratic type of government under a council of 400.¹¹⁰ At Taras a hereditary monarchy was continued until the end of the sixth century, and we can trace some points of resemblance between its aristocratic system and the constitution of its mother-city, Sparta.¹¹¹ At the Western Locri and at Catana we hear of the law-givers Zaleucus and Charondas,¹¹² and at Croton of the political influence of Pythagoras.¹¹³ But in none of these states have we material enough for even the skeleton of a constitutional history. Is it too much to hope that the papyri will yet give back to us some of the 150 odd *τρόπαια* attributed in ancient times to Aristotle, and of which only such tantalizing fragments remain?

It is not only in matters relating directly to the constitutional history of the Greek colonies that the absence of evidence makes itself felt. Our ignorance as to the constitutional history of their *συγχρόνες* in the seventh and sixth centuries is an almost equally grave loss; for the political development of the colonies was inevitably governed by two principles. On the one hand, there was the natural desire of the settlers to reproduce, as far as possible, in their new homes the familiar institutions of the mother-city. On the other hand, there was the reaction of a society where the exploitation of the resources of a new country counted for more than the traditions of the past and of family descent. Had we fuller knowledge of the early political history of the Greek states on the mainland and in Asia Minor, we should be in a position to control the working of at least one of these principles; but only in the history of Corinth and her colonies is it possible to do this in any detail. For the rest, we must confine ourselves to broad generalisations prefaced by the frank admission that they are based on what must often be very insufficient evidence.

As far as our knowledge justifies a conclusion, it would seem that the great age of Greek colonisation belongs to a period when the Greek political world was almost entirely in the hands of feudal aristocracies.¹¹⁴ At Corinth we know that the Bacchini clan held power during the great days of early

¹¹⁰ Strabo, p. 179; Ar. Pot. 1303 &c.; 1321 &c.; cf. Brotz, *op. cit.* i. p. 185.

¹¹¹ Cf. Brotz, *op. cit.* i. p. 410.

¹¹² Strabo, p. 269; Diod. xii. 12-22.

¹¹³ Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 317-318;

¹¹⁴ Strabo, p. 284.

¹¹⁵ Helm, *History of Greece* (English translation), i. pp. 267-272, gives, to my mind, the best summary of the Greek political world in the days of colonisation.

Corinthian commerce,¹¹⁵ and we constantly hear of its members in connexion with the history of the early colonies. Archias, the 'oecist' of Syracuse, Chersigerates, 'oecist' of Caryta, and Phalnus, 'oecist' of Epidamnum, were all of this clan; we have already referred to yet a fourth Bacchiad who became prince of an Epean tribe.¹¹⁶ So, too, in Megara it seems that the foundation of her colonies both in East and West goes back to the period of that oligarchy which was finally overthrown by Thengenes.¹¹⁷ For Eretria we have the authority of Aristotle¹¹⁸ that the period of her colonising activity coincides with the rule of the oligarchic Hippolotae, and we may presume that the colonies of her neighbour and rival Chalcis were due to the similar oligarchy which flourished there at the same period. Of the Achaean cities, to which Sybaris, Croton, and other cities of Southern Italy traced their origin, we know less. Strabo tells us¹¹⁹ that a hereditary monarchy lasted here for long after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese, and it is possible that, when Sybaris and Croton were founded, the Achaeans were still a united state under a feudal king; but this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the many problems connected with the Achaean colonies.¹²⁰ Later, when Pythagorean doctrines had caused trouble among the states of Magna Graecia, it was to the home-country that the colonists looked for reform, and they then found a democratic constitution established in Achaea.¹²¹ Most puzzling of all is the history of Miletus. Here we get glimpses into a confused sequence of political disturbances. The old hereditary monarchy seems to have been succeeded almost immediately by a tyranny which was in its turn followed by a period of *στάσις* between two parties, known to later history as Ηλούρις and Χειροπάχα.¹²² But here we have no means of tracing the historical connexion between these varying political changes at home and the great work of Milesian colonisation in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries. It is only worth noting that the political parties which we have just named obviously indicate a society in which commercial interests have become of vital importance; and we have already remarked that the foundation of the later colonies of Miletus on the northern and western shores of the Euxine was certainly due to the commercial instinct of merchants who wished to open up the trade in corn.

The evidence which we have thus briefly examined suggests that the Greek colonies were founded by states still in process of development from a purely feudal to a commercial and oligarchic stage of political government. It is, therefore, natural to find that the little evidence which we possess as to the earliest political history of the colonies themselves points to a similar transitional character. Hereditary monarchies were not unknown in the Greek settlements. We have mentioned that of Tarsus; the kings of Cyrene

¹¹⁵ Strabo, p. 573.

¹¹⁶ Strabo, p. 289; Th. i. 24, 2; Strabo, p. 225.

¹¹⁷ Plat. *Gr.* p. 17.

¹¹⁸ apud Strabo, p. 447.

¹¹⁹ Strabo, p. 384.

¹²⁰ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* I. 1, pp. 233-4, for one view.

¹²¹ Strabo, *loc. cit.*

¹²² Nic. Dam. fr. 34 (F.H.G. Bltz); Plat. *Gr.* p. 32; cf. Herod. v. 25-6.

are an even more conspicuous example.¹²² In Syracuse too, we hear of a tradition (which, though obscure, is apparently of good authority), that there was a king in the early days of the city's history.¹²³ But, in general, it seems safe to say that the characteristic form of government in a Greek colony of the seventh and sixth centuries was government by oligarchy. Even in those states where we know that a hereditary monarchy maintained itself for generations, we may suspect that the real government was in the hands of the wealthier classes. But it is important to note that the oligarchies usual in the colonies seem to have been formed on a different principle from the oligarchies which became powerful in Greece during the seventh century. In Corinth and Athens we hear of government by a ring of powerful families, belonging to *γένη* of high descent, and it is probable that similar oligarchies existed in many of the other Greek states. But in the colonies political power seems from the first to have been associated rather with wealth than with noble lineage. Our earliest precise information comes to us from Herodotus, who speaks of an early oligarchy at Syracuse, in the hands of landlords (*γεωπόποιοι*).¹²⁴ We can only conjecture that the same property-qualification underlay the oligarchic constitutions of Massalia and the Italian towns. At a later date we can trace more definitely the political influence of large commercial families, whose income was derived from their possession of land, in the colonies of the Tauric Chersonese.¹²⁵

No general law can be laid down as to the history and decline of these land-owning oligarchies. In cities where commerce on a large scale was caused by the prosperity of the colony, the growth of a democracy must have followed inevitably, according to the universal rule of Greek history. The town-dwelling class thus formed, analogous in all respects to the *πατριώτες δύοις* which filled the Piraeus in the fifth and fourth centuries, had other interests than either the class of land-owners or their peasant-servants, and its growth was bound to be a disturbing influence in the politics of their country. The results can be most clearly traced in the political history of Syracuse, where a *δῆμος* owing its prosperity to commerce and industry grew to power during the sixth century, proved strong enough to overthrow the ascendancy of the *γεωπόποιοι* at the opening of the next century, and though they had to submit for a generation to the rule of Gelon and his successors, were finally able to expel their tyrants and to make Syracuse a democratic state. We have less information as to the political history of other colonies, but we may suspect that the same cause was at work in the democratic revolution which overthrew the Battal rule in Cyrene towards the middle of the sixth century.¹²⁶ In the political troubles associated with the name of Pythagoras in the cities of Magna Graecia, and in the gradual transformation of the Massalian oligarchy to a constitution more nearly approximating the

¹²² Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 219-217.

¹²³ Cf. Herod. vi. 1, p. 329. The author of this history is Hippys of Rhagium.

¹²⁴ Her. vii. 155.

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¹²⁵ Von Hammer, *loc. cit.* p. 171.

¹²⁶ Cf. Herod. iv. 161-2; cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1.

Aristotelian ideal.¹²⁸ In this stage of their political development, the Greek colonies follow closely the political history of the mainland during the sixth and fifth centuries, though it is noteworthy that, whilst in Corinth, Sicyon, Megara and Athens the *tyrannis* is associated politically with the rise of democracy, in Sicily Gela and Theron appear as the opponents of the lower classes, ruling over both rich and poor, but with a marked preference for the rich.¹²⁹

The rise of the *tyrannis* in Sicily during the crisis of the Persian wars and its revival almost a century later, during the crisis of the war with Carthage, are two of the most notable incidents in Greek history, suggesting the recognition in the West of a national ideal which was still undeveloped in the East.¹³⁰ But it is well to remember that the Sicilian "tyrannies" of the fifth and fourth centuries are not characteristic of Greek colonial history as a whole. Only in one other region of the Greek colonial world do we meet with a parallel phenomenon. Towards the close of the fifth century B.C. the Greek colonies on the Scythian coast-line fell under the rule of a capable and enterprising dynasty of soldier-princes. Its founder, Spartoces, seems to have been a Thracian soldier of fortune, and the kingdom which he established presents many interesting analogies to the kingdom of Dionysius. Like Dionysius, Spartoces founded his rule on a constitutional basis; like the Sicilian tyrant, he established his position by the prestige of his conquests; but, unlike him, he succeeded in founding a dynasty which was to last for many generations.¹³¹ The cause of such parallel achievements is not far to seek. Sicily and the Tauric Chersonese, despite the many contrasts which exist between the two countries, have this in common that they are regions geographically separate from the rest of the Greek world and constantly under the menace of grave peril from hostile neighbours. Under such conditions, the rule of a military despot becomes almost a necessity, and, once established, is easily consolidated. Had the Cyrenaica produced a general as capable as either Dionysius or Spartoces, it would have fallen a less easy prey to the conquering power of Persia.¹³²

Where the personal despotism of a tyrant cannot be traced, we sometimes have evidence that a single city established her empire over adjoining Greek towns in order to unite them in face of a common foe. This is most notable in the history of Sybaris and Croton, where the two rival cities established a regular *apxē* by land, each with the object of controlling an important trade-route.¹³³ But other instances, less famous in history, are also to be found. Massilia, most remote of all the great Greek colonies, seems to have held sway over all the Greek towns around the opening of the Rhone Valley. For the most part they were her own colonies, founded, to use Strabo's expressive phrase,¹³⁴ as 'outworks' against the Iberians to the

¹²⁸ Ar. *Pel.* 1305 n.

¹²⁹ Her. vi. 157; cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 300.

¹³⁰ Cf. the very interesting speech of Herodes Atticus, in Th. iv. 59-61.

¹³¹ Von Stern, loc. cit. pp. 177-189.

¹³² Her. iv. 290-294.

¹³³ Cf. Bausch, op. cit. i. pp. 410-412.

¹³⁴ Strabo, p. 180: *προτείχισμα*.

west and the Ligurians to the east and north; and it is evident from Strabo's description that they were mere dependencies of the great central town, possessing no independent policy of their own, but used by the Massaliots as outposts from which to hold in check the aggressions of her restless neighbours. So, too, we find that Rhegium, in the days of her strength, had several towns subject to her control,¹²⁵ and it is interesting to note that in the days of Xenophon both Cyzicus and Trapezus paid tribute to Sinope.¹²⁶ Apparently here also the great emporium had established her empire over the Milesian settlements of the Pontic coast-line. Sometimes, too, where no city was strong enough to impose its rule on the neighbouring colonies all would group themselves together in a federal union under the presidency (nominal or otherwise) of a single town. The confederacy of the Chalcidic towns under the leadership of Olynthus is a familiar example of this policy.¹²⁷ During the fourth century a more durable federation was formed by the Corinthian colonies in Aeternia, under the presidency of Stratos.¹²⁸

The great political importance of some of these colonies naturally suggests the question whether the mother-states made any attempt to interfere in the policy of their imperial daughters. As a rule, the answer which modern scholars give to this question is in the negative. It is pointed out, very justly, that with ancient methods of navigation it was impossible for the mother-country to exercise any effective supremacy over colonies divided from it by a long tract of sea, and a comparison has been made in this connexion between the position of the Greek colonies in the ancient world and the relations of England and America in the eighteenth century.¹²⁹ But we can surely trust to a generalisation concerning Greek history, and we have no reason to believe that every Greek colony stood to its *μητρόπολες* in exactly the same relation as its fellow-colonies. To give but one example, it is plain that those Massaliot settlements which Strabo describes as *ἐκτενέλαττα* must have been far more closely dependent on the government of Massalia than more distant settlements, such as Hemeroscopium or Emporion.¹³⁰ In general we know too little of Greek colonial history to be able to illustrate this conclusion in detail,¹³¹ but by a fortunate chance, a few statements of great interest have come down to us, relating to the history

¹²⁵ Strabo, p. 228. *τερπούσις λέγεται εἶχεν*; cf. Heiboch, op. cit. i. p. 286, n. 3.

¹²⁶ Xen. *Anab.* v. 7, 10.

¹²⁷ Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 558-60; Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, pp. 190-197.

¹²⁸ Cf. a remarkable paper by Dr. Inhoef-Werner, 'Die Miletische Akarnanien,' in *Nom. Zeit.* 1878, pp. 11-18.

¹²⁹ Sir George Cornwall Lewis, quoted by Crozier, op. cit. p. 8, n. 1.

¹³⁰ Strabo, p. 159. Th. Reinach (loc. cit. pp. 51-6) thinks that these were originally

settlements of Phocaea, drawn later into the sphere of Massaliot influence.

¹³¹ Prof. Myres (loc. cit. p. 63) says that Miletus 'alone among the great colonising states of the Greek world seems, until its fall, to have kept some kind of hand over its factories.' I am disposed to think that his view of the relations between Miletus and her colonies is correct, though I do not know of any precise evidence on the point; but I cannot allow that Miletus was alone in maintaining these relations.

of the Corinthian colonies, and these give us light as to the political relations of Corinth with her colonists.

Thucydides puts into the mouth of a Corinthian speaker the claim that they were better loved by their colonies than any other Greek state.¹⁴² This statement might seem to imply that Corinth was unusually liberal in her colonial policy; yet we have evidence that she insisted repeatedly and strongly on her imperial claims. Her standing feud with Coreya, though probably due to the fact that Coreya interfered with her Italian trade,¹⁴³ had its immediate cause in an act of dishonour done to her by the colony in the reign of Periander.¹⁴⁴ Under Cypselus her political relations with Coreya seem to have been unusually close, for to his reign belongs the foundation of Anactorium, in which Coreyraeans and Corinthians took an equal part¹⁴⁵; though at the same time we have evidence of a hostile faction in the island, for the Bacchids, whom Cypselus expelled from Corinth, took refuge in Coreya.¹⁴⁶ Epidamnus, too, as we have already seen, was a joint colony of the two states, and one of the proximate occasions of the Peloponnesian War was due to Corinthian interference in the domestic politics of this town.¹⁴⁷ So, too, in Potidaea we find that Corinth was watchful over her rights. In spite of the fact that the town was a subject of the Athenian empire, she continued to send her overseers from home as an assertion of her privilege as *μητρόπολις*.¹⁴⁸ But these incidental acts of policy are not the only points of interest in the colonial history of Corinth; here, more than anywhere else, we can trace the influence of home-polities on colonial policy. Of the colonies founded in the west by Corinth, Coreya and Syracuse belong certainly to the early period of Bacchid ascendancy; almost certainly, also Epidamnus, for its *oikosτής* was a member of the Bacchid family.¹⁴⁹ To three minor settlements—Chaleis and Molycreia at the mouth of the Saronic gulf, and Solium opposite Leucas—no definite date is assignable. Anactorium, Leneas, Apollonia and Ambracia were all founded under the Cypselid rule¹⁵⁰; and to the same period belongs also the foundation of Potidaea in Chalcidice.¹⁵¹ If we consult the map, we shall see that this chronological difference is parallel to an obvious difference in policy. The early colonies were founded on sites sufficiently fair to attract settlers of themselves. The later colonies are grouped in one region, and, from what we know of the general policy of the Cypselids, we have every right to say that their foundation was deliberately intended to strengthen the Corinthian hold on the trade-route already formed by the establishment of the earlier settlements.

Bearing in mind this development in Corinth's colonial policy, it is interesting to see how active the Cypselid tyrants were in securing a firm

¹⁴² Th. i. 35, 3

¹⁴⁴ Th. i. 59, 2

¹⁴³ Th. i. 37, 4

¹⁴⁵ Th. i. 24, 1; but Eusebius gives (C. 38, 4) c. 625 B.C. 1

¹⁴⁴ Her. iii. 48.

¹⁴⁶ Strabo, p. 462; Not. Dam. fr. 68.

¹⁴⁵ Th. i. 55, 1; Strabo, p. 452.

¹⁴⁷ Not. Dam. fr. 58.

¹⁴⁶ Not. Dam. fr. 60.

¹⁴⁸ Th. i. 25-6

hold on their colonies. Not only did they make new settlements; they took care that the government of these settlements should be entrusted to members of their own family, and we find a whole series of viceroys of the various colonies all belonging to the royal house.¹²² Gorgos, son of Cypselus, was made 'viceroy' of Ambracia, and the same tyrant's two illegitimate sons, Pyrædes and Echialus, were made 'viceroys' of Leucas and Anactorium.¹²³ At Corcyra we find in succession as viceroys three sons of Periander—Lycophron, Nicolaus, and Cypselus—as well as his nephew, Psammetichus;¹²⁴ and Potidaea, only founded during the reign of Periander, received as its 'viceroy' yet another of his sons, Evagoras.¹²⁵ There is, therefore, plain evidence that Corinth, at least during the rule of the Cypselids, favoured a strongly imperial policy in her relations with her colonies; and in face of this evidence it is tempting to accept a conjecture recently made by Mr. Ernest Harrison in the *Classical Quarterly*.¹²⁶ He points out that, whereas the conventional phrase in Thucydides to describe the origin of a colony is simply *ἀποικία τινῶν*, an exception is to be found in his method of describing some of the Corinthian settlements. Apollonia, Epidamus, and Molycria are described in the ordinary way;¹²⁷ but Chalcis is *Κορινθίων τόπος*, Sollium is *Κορινθίων πόλεσσα*, and of Anactorium it is simply said: *ὅτε δὲ κούροι Κορινθίων καὶ ἔξεινον*.¹²⁸ Having regard to the peculiar colonial policy of Corinth, this difference in terminology may well correspond with a difference in the relations of these settlements with the mother-city. In that case, we might perhaps add Chalcis and Sollium to the list of colonies planted by the Cypselids along the trade-route from Corinth to the west; but here we are in the realm of pure conjecture.

The colonial policy of the Cypselids, which we have discussed, inevitably suggests comparison with the policy of the Pisistratids at a slightly later date. Here, too, we find an imperial policy consistently pursued, and a system of viceroys appointed to support the central government: Hegesistratus at Sigeion, and Miltiades in the Thracian Chersonese.¹²⁹ As it happens, the evidence of coins helps to throw light on the success attained in the pursuance of each policy. Of the Corinthian colonies, Corcyra issued no independent coinage until after the fall of the tyrants; she then marked her revolt from the control of Corinth by issuing staters on the Aeginetan, not the Corinthian, standard.¹³⁰ Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas, all Cypselid foundations on the other hand, issue during the fifth century Corinthian staters;¹³¹ and the coinage of Leucas, in particular, conforms so closely to the Corinthian, not only in the large staters but also in its smaller denominations, that numismatists have concluded¹³² that 'it remained longer

¹²² The Cypselid family is discussed by Beloch, op. cit. I. 2, pp. 274, etc.

¹²³ Nic. Dam. fr. 88; Strabo, p. 523.

¹²⁴ Her. iii. 83; Nic. Dam. fr. 80.

¹²⁵ Nic. Dam. fr. 80.

¹²⁶ C.Q. 1912, p. 177, where the evidence is fully given.

¹²⁷ Th. I. 26, 2; 24, 2; iii. 102, 2.

¹²⁸ Th. I. 108, 4; II. 30, 1; I. 52, 1.

¹²⁹ Her. v. 94; vi. 34-39, 109.

¹³⁰ Cf. Gardner, in *Hist. Mon. Catalogue* (Thessaly), pp. 47-49 (listed).

¹³¹ Jahn-Wimmer, op. cit. p. 41.

¹³² Cf. Head, in *R.M.C. (Corinth)*, p. 63 (listed).

than any other Corinthian colony in intimate political relations with the mother-city.¹⁶¹ So, too, Sigeion seems always to have maintained, amid the vicissitudes of the Athenian empire, a close connexion with Athens; in contrast with most of the subject-states it issued no independent coinage during the whole of the fifth century, and in the fourth century it remained faithful to the Athenian type of Athena and her owl.¹⁶²

The political relations which we can trace between Corinth and her colonies become all the more significant when we remember that only here has the veil of our ignorance been lifted; if light were let in on other points, we might well find that Greek colonisation has a more varied history than we know at present. But, at the same time, we must not lose sight of a fundamental principle in Greek politics, clearly stated by the Corcyraean ambassador at Athens: *οὐκ ἐτι τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτι τῷ οὐρανῷ τοῖς λεπτομένοις εἰσὶ δημόπολοι ἀπόκοι.*¹⁶³ Even where the policy of the *μητρόπολες* was most imperial, Greek sentiment always recognised that a colony had the right of a distinct political existence, under the suzerainty of the mother-city; for every Greek colony was also a *πόλις*, in the fullest sense of the word, and, when the power of the *μητρόπολες* began to wane, it needed no internal reform to give the colony a self-contained existence in the eyes of the Greek political world. Leucas and Amactorium, for example, were as truly *πόλεις* when subject-colonies of Corinth in the sixth century, as when in the fourth century they assumed complete independence of the mother-state and became autonomous members of the Achaean League. Yet, even where political ties were weakened by distance or time, there always remained the bond caused by universal Greek religious sentiment. A colony, it was felt, owed duty to its *μητρόπολες*, and any act of hostility or contempt was looked on as an act of impiety.¹⁶⁴ This religious feeling was fostered by an annual ceremony: The *oikistēs* of each colony was by Greek custom a citizen of the mother-city; on his death he received worship as a hero, and games were sometimes instituted in his honour.¹⁶⁵ No greater act of revolt against the authority of the home-country could be accomplished than the discontinuance of these religious ceremonies. When the Amphipolitans wished to sever all connexion between their city and Athens, they cast down the shrine of their 'ancestor' Hagnon, and paid honour instead to Brasidas as the deliverer of their city.¹⁶⁶ So, too, the men of Thurii symbolised their withdrawal from Athenian influence by requesting the Delphic god to act as their *ολεοτήρ*;¹⁶⁷ they wished to emphasise the fact that they were now an international state.

Seeing that the ultimate bond of union between mother-city and colony was thus of a religious nature, it is not surprising to note that those colonies founded in the early centuries, when the Greek religion was still a potent

¹⁶¹ *Hes.* *Nam.* (ed. 2), p. 549; cf. P. Gardner, in *J.H.S.* 1913, pp. 147-158.

¹⁶² Th. i. 34, 1; cf. the corresponding Corinthian chela (*Brid.* 33, 2); *τὸν ἵππον τούτου καὶ τὸν σίδην* (*σάρανθα*).

¹⁶³ Her. vii. 51; viii. 22; cf. Th. v. 106, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Her. vii. 38.

¹⁶⁵ Th. v. 11, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Diel. vii. 33; cf. Th. i. 25, 1 (Epidaurus).

force, remained to the end more loyal than any of the later settlements, founded for the most part on principles of imperial, not of national, policy. The shock given to Greek sentiment by the unfilial action of Coreyra is of itself sufficient to prove that the general attitude of the colonies in the early days of Greek history was one of dutiful respect, if not of actual submission.¹²⁰ Very different was the history of the colonies founded during the fifth century when religious feeling had been undermined by nationalistic propaganda. Amphipolis and Thurii were both lost to Athens within thirty years of their foundation, and Spartan influence at Heraclea in Trachis was from the first of doubtful quality.¹²¹ The Corinthian ambassadors had, by contrast, good reason to boast of their friendly relations with their colonies. Syracuse was founded in the eighth century, yet, when four centuries later she fell on evil days, it was to Corinth that she looked for help, and it was in Corinth that she found a Timoleon.

Closely connected with the sentiment of loyalty to the mother-state was the more general feeling of loyalty to kindred of the same race. The division of the Greek race into Dorians, Ionians and Achaeans formed one of the most profound influences in the whole current of Greek history. In particular, the rivalry between Dorians and Ionians is of peculiar importance for the history of Greek colonisation. In our written authorities this rivalry is sometimes alluded to in most pointed terms, and we know that it was a powerful factor in Greek political history of the fifth century B.C. The Athenian *dexy* was largely built up on the sentiment of Ionian kindred,¹²² and it was fear of a Dorian alliance between Syracuse and Sparta which was one of the chief motives in the Sicilian policy of Athens.¹²³ But if we turn to the map and mark the different regions in which the two races established their colonies we shall at once be struck by an apparent unity in the methods of each. In almost every region of the Greek colonial world, the two races are to be found represented on our maps; but it seems everywhere plain from the grouping of their settlements that the sites were chosen in a spirit of conscious opposition. In Sicily, the north east was originally almost entirely in the hands of Ionians, whilst the east and south were settled by Dorians. In the Aegean, the Ionians went to the north, the Dorians to the south, and there is here little clashing of interests; but, on the shores of the Euxine, though Miletus succeeded in gaining almost a monopoly of the more distant coasts, Megara succeeded in encircling the entrance to the Propontis with a ring of her settlements. A glance at the geographical position of these and other Greek colonies will show at once that of the two races the Ionians were by far the more enterprising. On the Euxine, in the northern waters of the Aegean, beyond the straits of Messina to Gaul and Spain, and (if we may trust Herodotus and Plutarch),¹²⁴ up the coast line of the Adriatic, it was Ionian sailors who everywhere led the way; and though their earliest enter-

¹²⁰ Th. I. 25, 4.

¹²¹ Th. iii. 93, 4.

¹²² Cf. Th. v. 96, 1.

¹²³ Th. vi. 8, 2; cf. iv. 61, 2.

¹²⁴ Her. I. 183; Plat. Qu. Gr. 11.4. Beloch (op. cit. i. 1, p. 247, n. 4) repeats this tradition; but, if false, how are we to account for its acceptance?

prises date back well into the eighth century, even in the seventh century Samian and Phoenician adventurers still found new ports to explore.¹²¹ There is, therefore, much point in a comparison, made by a distinguished French scholar, between the early Ionian settlers and the Portuguese adventurers of the fifteenth century,¹²² though we must always bear in mind that it is not in any way a comparison of degree. But it would be a grievous mistake were we to give to the Ionians alone the whole credit of success in the history of Greek colonisation. It is true that only in the Cyrennica do the Dorians appear in the character of explorers; but though later in the field, and of a less enterprising spirit, their instinct for colonisation suggested to them a choice of sites even more remarkable than those occupied by the Ionians. Their insight in this respect amounted, indeed, to genius. Chalcedon and Byzantium, Potidaea, Tarsus and Syracuse—these are sites of which any people might well be proud. For the most part they belong to the later period of Greek colonisation, and it will be noticed how plainly the latest point to a deliberate policy of getting control of trade-routes. Chalcedon, Byzantium and Potidaea, no less than the Corinthian outposts along the shores of the Adriatic, commanded routes by which Ionians must inevitably pass on their voyages to and from their more distant colonies. Sites such as these were not chosen at random.

From the position of many of their colonies, it would seem that the Dorian states aimed deliberately, at least in their later foundations, at acquiring control of Ionian routes. That in certain regions they succeeded in doing so would seem to appear from the evidence of early Greek standards of coinage. If coinage was not itself an Ionic invention, the Ionians were, at all events, the first Greeks to make a regular use of money; yet it is curious to note that, in many important regions of the ancient Greek world, the Dorian standards of Aegina and Corinth prevailed over the Ionian standards of Euboea and the cities of the Asiatic coast. In Italy and Sicily, Chalcis was well ahead of Corinth in the foundation of her colonies, and we should naturally expect that the Euboic standard would thus have every chance of becoming the dominant currency of Magna Graecia; yet the earliest Italian coinage was struck on the Corinthian standard and in direct imitation of Corinthian fabric, and there is evidence that, before the existence of a local currency, Corinthian statera were in free circulation through the towns of Italy.¹²³ Only in Chalcidic Cyme and Rhegium, and Phocaean Elea do Ionian standards appear.¹²⁴ Again, in the Pontic colonies the influence of Miletus was supreme from the eighth century onwards; yet the earliest coins found in this area are of the Aeginetan standard,¹²⁵ pointing clearly to the fact that Aeginetan influence in the Euxine, for which Herodotus affords evidence in the time of Xerxes,¹²⁶ goes back to the earliest

¹²¹ Her. iv. 152.

¹²² Cf. Wroth, in *B.R.O.* (Pontus), but

¹²³ Th. Reinach, op. cit. pp. 52-3.

Prof. P. Gardner (*History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 171) suggests that at first the Pontic cities used the electrum coinage of Miletus.

¹²⁴ Will. *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 22; *Handbook of Greek Coins*, p. 152.

¹²⁵ Hist. Num. p. 35; p. 88.

¹²⁶ Her. vii. 147.

days of Greek commerce. But the most remarkable instance of Dorian commercial preponderance is to be found in the district of Chalcidice. Thanks to the acute criticism of Mr. Harrison,¹²¹ we now know that this region was exclusively in the hands of Eretria and her dependencies until the foundation of Potidaea about 600 B.C. The cities of Chalcidice do not begin to issue coins until about 500 B.C. Their currency belongs to the Euboeo-Attic standard; but, unlike Athens or Euboea, they divided their stater into three, not two, drachmas, and this division is an obvious imitation of the Corinthian system.¹²² When we remember how comparatively late was the foundation of Potidaea, we shall find it all the more striking that a single town should, in the course of a century, have been able to influence the whole colonial system of Chalcidice to the extent of imposing on them the divisions of Corinthian currency; and we shall also admit that Periander was well advised in the choice of a site for his new colony. These instances of colonial policy suggest a continuous and successful effort on the part of the leading Dorian states to force themselves into the highways of Greek commerce. M. Reinach has compared the Ionian settlers with the Portuguese. Those who remember the rapidity with which the Portuguese, in the great days of European expansion, won and lost their hold on the trade with the East, will perhaps, in the light of these facts, find an added point in his suggestive comparison.

IV.—General Summary.

In conclusion, it will be well to summarise briefly the views that have been put forward and to suggest again certain obvious points of comparison between Greek colonial history and the history of modern colonisation.

In the first place we have seen that the fundamental cause of Greek colonisation was not, as in more modern times, the sudden discovery of unexplored regions or the prospect of commercial gain. It was rather the constant pressure of a population outgrowing the productive capacity of land at home, and chafing, too, at the restraints of a social system wholly founded on the hereditary tenure of land. This pressure was a direct result of the increasing stability of Greek life, and the tendency to emigration was further encouraged by a second result of that increasing stability, the clearing of pirates from the home waters. But the Greeks, though essentially an agricultural people, were none the less born for maritime adventure, and the migratory movement soon resulted in a rapid extension of the limits of the Greek world. Parallel to this extension went, naturally, a great development of commerce, and commercial enterprise becomes more and more inextricably united with the growth of the colonies until the later phases of Greek colonial history are identical with the history of contemporary Greek commerce. Yet, if we are careful to distinguish the earlier from the

¹²¹ C.Q. 1912, pp. 91–103, 164–178.

¹²² This fact has been recently established.

by Prof. Gashier: *cf. History of Ancient Commerce*, p. 197.

succeeding stages of that history we see clearly, that the first Greek states founded over-seas were primarily communities of an agricultural people, only later centres of industrial or commercial activity.

This primary character of Greek colonisation explains much that would otherwise be puzzling in its later development. Greek society in the colonies no less than in the mother country, had its roots in the conception of a city-state. As long as a Greek colony survived as an independent unit, sometimes long after it had lost its independence, it retained its essential character of a *πόλις*. Hence, the development of social and political institutions among the Greek colonies is, as far as we can trace it, closely parallel to the development of society in Greece proper; only occasionally, where pressure from outside threatened the very existence of the Greek states do we find, as in Sicily under Dionysius, the sudden rise of a military despotism. And this continuity is reflected in the whole atmosphere of Greek colonial history. Tradition was a very living force in the Greek colonies, and there was nothing in their development, which can be compared to the characteristic features of modern colonial states. The relations of French Canada to France resemble, perhaps, more closely the relations of a Greek colony to its *μητρόπολις* than do the more progressive Anglo-Saxon colonies, where progress has often been achieved at the cost of respect for tradition, and of much else that is beautiful.

A detailed examination of the political relations between the Greek states of the mainland and their respective colonies is unfortunately no longer possible. How did each Greek state solve the problem of maintaining its hold on its distant colonies? That is a question which we can no longer answer; we can only draw attention to that general sense of religious reverence which was so strong a bond of union between the new and the old in all Greek society. The few details which chance has preserved for us as to the colonial policy of Corinth teach us little more than the extent of our ignorance. If we had even such slight knowledge of the colonies of Miletus, Megara, or the Achaean states, what new light might be thrown on the development of early Greek society!

One last question cannot fail to suggest itself to the student of Greek colonial history: since Greek colonisation achieved so much, why did it not achieve more? By the middle of the sixth century B.C. the Greek world had already been given those limits which were to remain almost unchanged until Alexander broke down, at a blow, all the barriers of the East; why was no effort made by the Greeks in the days of their independence to extend these limits? It is the old riddle of the greatness and the littleness of Greek history. Perhaps no other nation has shown such intense activity of expansion, and yet made no attempt to found a permanent empire. The Romans had not the Greek genius for colonisation, but the Roman negotiator penetrated everywhere, and opened up new regions for the Roman armies to conquer. The Greeks, on the other hand, were content with their isolated settlements, and never seem to have thought of establishing an empire in the interior of those countries whose sea-boards they held. Perhaps it was

the failure to convert the ideal of a city-state into the ideal of a nation—perhaps it was some inherent quality of the Greek mind—content with what it had and not caring for more than was sufficient to supply its material needs. Imperialism and apostolate are two conceptions very different in their origin and their motives, yet both equally unfamiliar to the Greeks. What they had, they made perfect, and we must admit that the perfection of their civilisation was due in no small measure to the existence of their colonies. Exchange of goods and interchange of thought are two very necessary conditions of human progress; and Greek colonisation ensured that, for two centuries at least, the Eastern Mediterranean should be the almost undisputed waterway of Greek merchants and travellers.

AUBREY GWYNNE.

THE UTILISATION OF OLD EPIGRAPHIC COPIES.

INTRODUCTION

SOME of the most important inscriptions in Central Anatolia, copied by old travellers with fair accuracy, are concealed in the great collections, such as *C.I.G.*, with false or defective transcription in which their value is lost. The object of this article is to illustrate by examples the importance and the right method of re-studying them. In order to show the facts, as the basis for a new restoration (which will in every case be found closer to the original copy than the published transcriptions), brevity is best served in several cases by quoting former transcriptions fully.

In using the copies of older travellers the chief principle is to amend as little as possible. Certain letters, however, are liable to be confused by any copyist in a difficult text, and correction in such cases is needed within limits. Also, there is a personal equation which can be established in respect of each. Copyists vary in excellence, some being much more trustworthy than others, and there are certain errors to which some are more prone than others. A great scholar, with brilliant imagination and poor or unpractised eyes, may make worse copies than the old travellers. F. Lenormant was a typical example. His ingenuity (sometimes undisciplined) and learning enabled him to distort his own poor copies to such a degree that a scholar of Berlin, Hermann Roehl, wrote two malignant articles branding him as *inscriptiōnēm falsorūias*, and Kirchhoff with others made the same accusation. Neither of them was intellectually able to appreciate the errors into which excessive ingenuity and quickness of intellect may betray a bad copyist rather lacking in judgment.¹ The editors of *Hermes*, 1882, p. 460, and 1883, p. 107, admitted Roehl's articles (with other insinuations by Moritzmann), and stamped with their authority this disgraceful attack which has overshadowed Lenormant's great services, and some even of his own friends shrink from championing his cause. His worst fault was not want of fidelity, but over-ingenuity. His inscriptions have often not been found² but that was the

¹ Lenormant found in a tobacconist's shop in Athens a sheet of paper on which was written part of a list of city names and river names, apparently a schoolboy's exercise, which he and Karl Müller accepted as a genuine ancient scrap of information.

² In my experience, very often inscriptions

are seen once, and disappear (pp. 129 etc.). German at home based on this a charge of forgery. Grothe in his *Türkischer Ausflug* has a just remark about those whose Schröderized domain impossibilities in ignorance of facts.

period of reconstruction, when ancient stones quickly disappear. I have often said from experience in Turkey that, where reconstruction begins, more inscriptions are lost in four years than in the four centuries preceding, and stones appear and die in a day or a year.²⁵

Lenormant's errors were due largely to the quickness of his thought and the badness of his sight for faint impressions: when great ingenuity is combined with great learning there is no "personal equation" except infinity. The copies of Hamilton, Lucas, etc., treated in the present article, were attempts to present facts without comprehension or theorising; but in Lenormant and some other scholars the tendency to theorise dominated the mind. Some examples are treated below in Nos. XXII, ff.; but I intentionally take my principal example from a deceased scholar. The way in which this tendency acts is illustrated in a supposititious example on the following page. It is true that this explanation leaves Lenormant's inscriptions in need of corroboration: they are influenced by a vivid creative imagination; but this uncertainty does not justify the malignant assertion that they were forged. Lenormant inaugurated a method of re-creating ancient ritual from scanty fragments of information, and although he carried his method to an extreme, he is always suggestive and instructive. He represents a stage in the epigraphic study of Greek religion; he is to be read but always also to be tested. The same class of spiteful critics have said about a great English discoverer that he always finds what he wants: they forget the motto to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wirklichkeit*, pt. i.

Another principle has to be constantly emphasised, that epigraphic copies reproduced in type are dangerous; and I have attempted to restore the probable state of the stone, so far as the evidence which can be gathered from type permits. Access to the notebooks of Hamilton, Steuart, etc., would give invaluable aid. The same lesson is emphasised in the forthcoming volume of *J.R.S.* vi., where I re-publish an unintelligible Latin fragment found at Pisidian Antioch by me in 1882, published by Sterrett in *E.J.* No. 128 from his own copy of 1885, and in *C.I.L.* iii. 6834 from Sterrett and me. Publication in *C.I.L.* is regarded naturally as the standard of knowledge; and it was only by chance, looking over my own ancient notebook, that I observed the meaning of a fragment which is unintelligible in those publications, and was left as hopeless by Mommsen (against some objection urged by me). The original copy is the only standard, and is frequently misrepresented in publication (sometimes even by the scholar who made it). Sterrett's copy in No. VI. disproves his own correction; in No. XXIX, my copy punishes my distrust of it. To avoid conjecture is the great lesson, and yet it is necessary sometimes to make conjectures where corruption is certain.

Ligatures, which are often difficult where the surface is worn, are commonly misrepresented or ignored by the old travellers.

Also, there is far too much tendency to interpret Anatolia in terms of

²⁵ See the remarks on pp. 129, 130 n.s.

Greece. Scholars come to Anatolian work saturated with Greek ideas, and they set about the interpretation of Anatolia on the theory that any Greek analogy, whether real or apparent, is most likely to give the true explanation.

I use the opportunity of interpreting more fully or correctly several of my own published inscriptions; and I have had many opportunities of comparing the copies made by old travellers and by myself with the actual stones, and thus gauging the tendency to error and to correctness in almost all of them. The tendency to be correct is frequently ignored by scholars working in a library with no experience of the real difficulties to which travellers are exposed from many causes that I might enumerate, and of which some will be mentioned in the course of this article. The old copyists tried to be correct, and this desire to represent faithfully what they did not understand is an important element in criticising them usefully. The worst copyist known to me is a Greek doctor Diamantides (who was assassinated in his own house at Konia in 1902); yet he did good service. Sterrett has published many inscriptions from him, and I transcribed all his inscriptions from his notebooks during his lifetime. Crum in *J.R.S.* 1902, p. 110, re-published an inscription from my copy, which Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 241, published from Diamantides. The inscription, a complete dedication by a high priest of Tiberius for the second time, C. Julius Oabis, to Pluto, is in Diamantides quite unintelligible, and yet every letter of his copy is accounted for and the reason for mistake is evident. The copy of Diamantides suggests the reading ἐ δέρα λεπεῖς τοῦ [η]σα[ος] ὄνιος[ν] . . . οὐδεος | εινὶ Νομόθεος. A highly ingenious scholar (as e.g. F. Lenormant) might start with this in his mind, and read the priest's name in Ι.Ι (instead of the Emperor's) and the hero's name as ὄνιος Τούλαος Οάζιος (gen.), to which a learned and instructive commentary would be attached; the hero Oabis is Oebris in the list of Korykian priests; and many other analogies impose themselves.

The last four lines of *C.I.G.* 4000 (No. IX.) supply a gauge according to which one can determine the character and extent of the errors which Lucas makes at his worst. The lines are a common Phrygian Greek formula, in which he makes the following errors: Α for Δ, ΤΗΠΠΥΑΗ¹ false, Α for Α, ΡΙ for Π, Γ for Τ, Ν omitted, Ν for Ρ (a strange error), Ε for Ζ, Π for ΙΤ, Ο least. Some of these errors are of the kind to which a rapid copy in Anatolian travel is exposed (as Α and Α, Ε and Ζ, are hard to distinguish); a few are more serious. Now, looking over this copy as a whole, having regard to the fact that Lucas was neither a trained epigraphist nor yet even a Greek scholar, and bearing in memory the difficulties which beset the best epigraphist in seeing the correct forms of very difficult letters, we conclude that, where round forms (the commonest) are employed, the following may be regarded as almost equivalent in Lucas (and likely to be confused by other copyists in difficult cases): Ζ, Ο, Ε, perhaps Θ : Α, Α, Δ : Γ, Π ; ΤΙ, ΡΙ, Π, ΙΤ : Χ, Υ : Χ, Κ : lambda in the form Λ is confused with Χ and Υ.

¹ ΤΥΧΗ would be the easiest correction for ΤΗΠΠΥΑΗ, but the case is more serious (see No. IX.).

Where square-forms are employed, Σ and Ε may be confused with each other, but not with Ο (unless it also is square); and the probable errors vary according to the type of alphabet; but this equivalence must not be used too freely, as human nature errs, but yet seeks after the truth and returns to it.

A good illustrative case also, may be found in a metrical epitaph at Apameia-Kelainai, which has been published in *C.I.G.* 3004, and by Welcker, *N. Rh. Mus.* 1845, p. 265 from the copy of Hamilton, and again by Kaibel, *Ep. Græc. ex Lys. Cont.*, 387 from the copy of G. Hirschfeld (given in his article on Apameia, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 25; see also my *C. B. Phr.* No. 343). Both Hamilton and Hirschfeld make mistakes, but neither copy is so remote from the correct text as the transcriptions published in *C.I.G.* and by Welcker and Kaibel. The errors of those two travellers (of whom Hirschfeld was a trained archaeologist, placed for some time in charge of the excavations at Olympia) furnish the personal equation according to which we should estimate the copies made by them in other cases. This is especially valuable in the case of Hamilton, who is the sole authority for many Anatolian inscriptions. He is very accurate where the inscription is clear: he rarely omits a letter without indicating the loss (except at the end of lines, where the loss is obvious only to an epigraphist). There is some justification for every mark in his copy (as in Lucas, etc.); but the fact that sometimes he copied something different from the mark on the stone is due partly to deterioration of the surface, partly to a certain tendency of eye and mind, which is the personal equation. The same holds with G. Hirschfeld, and is to be explained in his case probably on the theory that he had not good eyesight: a great deal depends on the delicacy of the eye and its sensitiveness to faint impressions. Arundell, whose two works furnish the sole copies of several inscriptions, is a poorer copyist, and frequently omits a letter, giving no indication that a letter is omitted. He ranks on the same level with Lucas, or perhaps lower, and the character of their mistakes is similar.

The inscription at Apameia is exceptionally difficult. The stone is a large panel, lying flat on the ground; the raised edges detain the rain-water on the surface, and the impact of the rain also exercises a deteriorating effect: thus the incised letters are worn and broadened. In 1881 and 1882 I refrained from copying it, because it is conspicuous, and I devoted my time to others which were less likely to attract notice. On a later visit I had with me Hirschfeld's paper on Apameia, and compared his copy carefully with the original.

The experience of many years, copying thousands of such inscriptions, sometimes extremely faint and worn, sometimes obviously scratched on the stone by untrained cutters ignorant of the language, makes me sympathetic with, and infinitely far removed from desiring to criticise, errors made by older travellers. In first copies I have made every error that they have made, but it has been my rule never (except under compulsion) to leave an inscription until I had exhausted every means of completely interpreting it, and had satisfied myself either that certainty could not be attained at the

moment, or that my reading and understanding were trustworthy. I do not blame travellers' copies, but I do blame scholars who, in their libraries, 'correct' (1) with careless haste those copies in any degree that suits their caprice, and thus often retard progress by concealing the facts of Anatolian antiquities, which they themselves do not sufficiently study.

It may be thought that I exaggerate the difficulty of distinguishing between letters on stones which are faint and worn, but I give an example. In the great Korykian inscription (containing probably a list of priests), the best text of which is published by Heberden and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 155, they read in l. 30 NENAOPMIOΣ. Hogarth reads NENA, and I remember being of the same opinion: * this seemed to us the safest text, and we could not trust to reading any cross-stroke in Α. While H. W. print their own text without indicating any doubt, they put in their notes 'Hogarth richtig NENA.' There remains some doubt whether the true form of the name may not, perhaps, be NENΔOPMΙΟΣ, reading neither Α nor Δ, but Δ, compare R. W. 190, where they print Δομιστως, but where the double name is probable, Δόμης Ηάε 'Dormis (called also) Pas, son of Kadadenis.' The name Pas occurs in the Korykian inscription B 1.71; with it compare Mos, Tax, Bas, Zas, Dazis, Plos, Lons, Klous, Glous, etc.¹ Again in the same inscription, l. 29, ΟΨΙΣ is printed by Hicks, from the squeeze of Mr. Bent and from (as I think) Hogarth; but H. W. read ΟΞΙΣ; and in 30 a name given is ΜΟΥΡΜΙΣ (Hicks, Hogarth), Muregas (H. W.). This implies a tendency in H. W. to see Ε; where H. H. see Ρ, and a difficulty in distinguishing Ν and Υ (due to Υ being taken for Υ).

From the Korykian inscription many variants might be quoted, showing the extent to which scholars and professional epigraphists, copying from the stone or using impressions, may differ in a doubtful text. Where, with all the advantage of training and care, Hicks and Hogarth^{*} differ from Heberden

¹The same name and the same differences of opinion in 32; 33, 76.

² See No. XXII.

³ I say nothing about myself, because my notebook with the complete text was lost the same year in the post; and there were some differences of opinion between Hogarth and myself in front of the stone. It should also be mentioned that the inscription was copied by us in a state of considerable physical weakness. We came down to the coast expecting to buy food, but every native had gone up to the high mountain pastures, and we arrived late in the evening, to find nothing. Next morning early we sent a man to the nearest town (six hours distant) to bring food, but he did not return till 11 p.m. Moreover the mosquitoes, which had driven us the natives up to the high mountain pastures, prevented sleep. Our purpose in that over day was to run across Paemus from Lamanda to Olima and Korykia.

was mainly to copy the great Korykian inscription for the benefit of that and (Bishop) Hicks in publishing; and we had nothing with us except what each carried on his own horse. These conditions are not suitable for making accurate copies of a difficult text. I was involved in an additional difficulty which at the time I did not appreciate. The inscription is engraved on the side of a temple, and begins high up. It was necessary to build a platform of stones, gradually raising it as the copy progressed. The platform naturally was accumulated to the height of the taller; and Hogarth had the advantage of six inches or more. At that time I had not learned that it is difficult to see correctly when the eye is lower than the letters, and that I was exposed to difficulties which in my later epigraphic life I would have avoided. Such are a few of the obstacles that occur in field life, even on a long excursion undertaken

and Wilhelm in regard to numberless symbols, we need not wonder that Læsøe and to a smaller degree Hamilton, vary from the truth. But the point is to determine the manner and degree of variation.

All restoration remains hypothetical until it is definitely proved by re-examination of the stone, and I have spent much time in searching for the inscriptions of former travellers. In many cases hypothesis has changed to certainty, and the hypothetical stage drops out of notice in republication, but frequently re-examination is impossible, as ancient stones have a short life above ground in Turkey (see p. 139, etc.). In exemplifying the method of using copies from former travellers I attempt also to illuminate the antiquities of Central Anatolia, selecting mainly those that throw light on the Anatolian religion, and especially on the god who is called (as I hope to prove) Mânes in the Anatolian speech and Men in the grecised form.² Almost all important inscriptions of Central Anatolia have a religious aspect; death and burial bore intimately on religion. Two show how advertisements were expressed as religious documents. Several are Christian of the fourth century and present exceptional interest, showing incidentally how much superior Christian education was to pagan in ordinary Anatolian society at that time.

To illustrate the importance of my subject I find, if my interpretations are correct, among inscriptions concealed in *C.I.G.*:-

1. Epitaph of the priest's son, who organised the last pagan ceremony 392 A.D. in Christian Iconium: *C.I.G.* 4000. I was forced gradually to refer it to the religious movement of Julian's time. The priests of an Iconian cult about the end of that movement buried their son, who along with them had taken an active part in the revivification of the local ritual. The spirit of the document is similar to the revival under Diocletian and Maximian Daza, but has its own individual character: it restored the obscure local rite, whereas the older revival restored the great sanctuary at Zizyma (No. 1).

2. Decree in honour of the priest who restored the old cult and re-organised the Imperial property, c. 300: *C.I.G.* 3985.

3. Advertisement of two marble-workers, c. 150: *C.I.G.* 3995 n.

4. The career of a forgotten Roman Governor, 16-38 A.D.: *C.I.G.* 3990.

Also 5. The reorganisation of the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier, 24 B.C.: Sterrett, *W.E.* 548.

My best thanks are due to three coadjutors,³ to whose cordial assistance

for the special purpose of copying afresh an important inscription. The life of an aspiring archaeologist contains twenty disappointments to every success.

² I have expressed this opinion often: the proof is here given: see Roeder's *Letters* II, 2, pp. 268, 271.

³ Mr. Anderson, of Christ Church, Mr. Buckley, of the American Embassy, and Professor Cahier, of Manchester, have co-operated with me in most of the inscriptions copied.

I have been, and have made many suggestions, a considerable number of which I accept. The copies have been circulated by us to some or all of them in the more difficult cases, and have been greatly improved through their criticisms. In many cases I state the name, but my debt is much greater than that: often a conjecture was made by one and modified successively by others, so that no name can be assigned.

and frank criticism much of this paper is due, but, of course, the responsibility lies finally with myself, and they do not all agree with all the views stated here.

1.—*I.G.G. 3988; I.G.R.R. iii. 248* (Kadin-Khan). I quote the latter, adding in capitals some letters which it omits from Hamilton, also our restoration.

ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἵερος Διος	ἐπειδὴ Ὁλόρεστης ἱερεὺς ΙΟVIS
καὶ Βέστης	καὶ Βέστης [καθιέρωσεν καὶ ἐπέ-
δοκεῖ εἰ	δώκειν ἐνβάσιος Μητρὶ Ζεζιμη-
η χρονίου	η χρονίου [ἀσημον λείγρας δύο
καὶ ἱερὰ ἄγκεα .	εἰς ἱερὰ ἀγκύρα τρία καὶ σηρ-
κυρδατην	εμβλεπτα διὰ μῆλα τε παντοῖα δι-
λεπτογραφήρ	λεπτογραφήρ [τελείας ἀποθησεν εἰ-
τοῖς ἱεροῖς	τοῖς ἱεροῖς [άρχειοις· ἱερατεύονται
δὲ καὶ τὰ τρίτα	δὲ καὶ τα τρίτην ἀνεγένεται τὸ βά-
θρον Κ:ΘΣ	θρον ε[ξ] θε[μ]έλιο; καὶ τὰς σκευα-
θηκα καὶ φα	θηκα[ς], καὶ φα[τρι]ς ἵπποις θεοῖς
ιεβ καὶ Θε·Ν[ι] τελ-	ιεβ, καὶ [σ]ερι[άδες μόνο]ς δεδόχθαι τελ-
τιν δεκ ΓΡ	εῖν δέκα Περιστοινες κατὰ ἑτοῖς
οὐέρ αὐτοῦ !	οὐέρ αὐτοῦ φιλιονίου τιμᾶς στρ-
τελεῖς δέι ὑπέρ	τελεῖς μὲν καὶ τοὺς μάστιχας / ὑπέρ
αὐτοῦ δει τοῦ μακαρ-	αὐτοῦ δεκατόμβου ἱεράς ἡμέρα
ίου ΜΑΙ	εἰ ταῦ Μαρτίου πρὸς δόξαντα τοῦ
μακαρίτοις	μακαρίτοις καὶ ἴπτερ τῆς κυρίων,
καὶ ετ[ι]στοι	καὶ κτητ[όρου στηρίξας]

10. *I.G.R.R.* has *θρον* a. nothing more. 12 *I.G.R.R.* has *ιεβ* *καὶ* *θ[ηκα]* *τελ-* | but Hamilton gives ΙΘΣ with a line above to show that it is a number (examples occur of this wrong order of numbers). 10-19 The exact wording is uncertain, but the general bearing is clear.

The inscription opens as an honorary decree *ἐπειδὴ* [εὐοξε]; yet the latter part is evidently of the nature of an epitaph: i.e. the hieron of Zizyus or the State of Laodiceia passed a decree in honour of the deceased. Another Lycaonian inscription of the same character, at once a public honorary decree and an epitaph, found at Kara-Bunar, belongs probably to Hiero Hydus. Some of the restorations are printed *exempli gratia*.

The text depends solely on Hamilton. The letters were evidently in good condition when he visited Kadin-Khan, and his copy is trustworthy,² though a skilled epigraphist would doubtless have elicited more at some places. The great Khan at the village, full of inscribed stones, is crumbling into ruins as the years pass, stones disappear one by one, and others are disclosed:

οἴη περ φύλλων γερεή, τοιῆσας καὶ ἐπεγραφῶς.

² The stone was cut in two, and thus letters were broken: e.g. from Ρ there may remain

in the left-hand fragment only |. This has happened at least once in Hamilton's copy.

This one has never been seen again, although I have repeatedly examined the ruins from 1880 onwards.

In restoring such an inscription, the length of the lines, and the period to which the inscription belongs, must be determined. It is elsewhere pointed out that a good stone is often split by stonecutters into two approximately equal parts.* Hamilton indicates traces of four letters lost at the right where the surface was injured by the cutter, and we infer that the lines in each half contained about twelve letters, and that the total length was about twenty-four letters. The restoration of 8-8 confirms this approximate length.

Further, the restoration has made no progress, because its period and character have not been observed. In 19 the copy has been corrected (?) to *κτ[ισ]τ[α]*; but Hamilton is right and the word is *κτητ[όποι]*. The *ktetor*s were the possessors and cultivators of the land which became imperial property under Augustus (being thus *κτητήρ* or *χωρά*): the term became common in documents of the fourth century. The printed restorations also miss the evident allusion in 4 to a certain weight of gold: the inscription belongs to the late period when gold was counted by weight, probably c. 300 A.D. The mention of *sericobattus* and the spirit and tone of the pagan feeling point to that period.

From these two assumptions we start, and the success of the restoration must be the test and proof.

1-2. In *C.I.G.*, and *I.G.R.R.* the restoration is *τεκτήν ὁ [ἱερέως Διὸς]*, making the lines about seventeen letters in length. It is, however, inadmissible that a decree should be passed in honour of an individual without his name. Evidence which cannot be detailed here proves that Orestes was a characteristic name in the priestly family at Zizyma, and Strabo, pp. 535, 527, mentions that Orestes was a figure who played a part in the origin of the religious centres, Komana and Kastabala, though he professes no belief in this myth. In such cases my view is that Orestes is a grecised form of a native name whose sound recalled this Greek word, as, e.g., at Olba Turku became Teukros.¹⁰ Buckler, without knowing that the name Orestes was connected with the cult of Zizyma, restored it here from Hamilton.

Uagnat-Lafaye take Vesta as the Roman goddess, and connect this with the supposed fact that Laodiceia was made a Roman colony in 235 A.D. The same false reasoning was stated previously by me in *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 235; at that date Waddington's wrong reading of a coin of Pella was accepted and the coin in question was assigned to Laodiceia (which was supposed to

* See *H.S.A.* 1912, p. 77. That the stone was a good one, and probably marble, is clear from the fact that the letters must have been in excellent condition when Hamilton saw it.

¹⁰ So Suchan pointed out, but he did not explain why Alas alternated with Teukros in the dynastic family. Evidently, the son of Yaran, the old Taurian, gave a name to the mythical dynast Alas. Telaemon also occurs,

apparently as the Greek corresponding to Telamon (cp. Ruthenius): other examples on p. 140. Orestes was Oaris or Oarois. This archaic introduction of Greek mythological names must be distinguished from the real survival, E and W, of the Aegean Sea, of names like Lykene (Lukanus), hero-monster of the Lykeneans and king in Arcadia. See pp. 146, 149, 169, 181.

have been made a Colonia by Maximin I.); but the error was pointed out many years ago,¹¹ though now through the influence of Cagnat-Lahaye's excellent book the error may find new life outside numismatic circles. Vesta is only a title of the native Anatolian goddess, for the inscription belongs to the pagan reaction when the Empire was allying itself with the Anatolian religion and using the native gods as helpers in the final struggle against the increasing power of Christianity; and the gods of different countries were identified with one another and their names interchanged, with the purpose of presenting a unified pagan religion throughout the Empire banded together against the new faith.¹²

In Roman religion Jupiter and Vesta were not ordinarily recognised as a family pair; but this goddess, besides her more familiar aspect as the virgin goddess whose priestesses are the Vestal Virgins, had also another aspect as Mater Vesta with her own pontifex. There must have existed in some ancient Itallan cult a conjunction of the divine father and the divine mother Vesta which belongs to a different stage in thought and ritual from the virgin Vesta, guardian of the ever-burning flame that formed the centre of the communal life in town or village. The Laodician composer, however, was not thinking of a rather obscure cult like that. He had in mind only the outstanding fact that Vesta, centre of the Roman State, was an expression of the same supreme goddess who ruled at Zizymu.

Vesta, as the Anatolian Mother, is associated with the divine Father. In *C.I.L.* iii. 13,638, found at Irenium, but also relating to the Zizimene religion, Jove and Minerva Zizimene are associated.¹³ In the present text a still more distinctly Roman form of the goddess is named, and we should expect also that the god should be obviously true Roman. The intention clearly is to give strong expression to the alliance of Zizymu with the Roman policy by employing strictly Roman names for the two supreme deities. We look therefore for Iovis or some other Latin form rather than the purely Greek name. But how was the Latin form Iovis expressed in Greek? In the first century, when Hellenic feeling was more effective, the Greek name might be substituted for the Roman, but about 300 A.D. that is less probable. The representation of the name of the god was therefore probably coloured by the conditions of the time, but the Latin Iovis contains two non-Greek spirants and it is quite uncertain how these were represented in Greek characters.

Moreover, as the inscription belongs to the time of Diocletian Iovis,

¹¹ See Hill, *Hist. Min. Galat.*, p. xxii.

¹² The word "Beatrix" occurs as a proper name in an unpublished inscription of Jacob Alzey, and the suggestion was made by a friend that this inscription should be restored in some such form as *Iovis Beatrix*? *I* is not *Vestra*, but this cannot be justified. The inscription in question has the *opqua* marked, and is therefore of late date, and no argu-

ment can be drawn from names of the ninth, or tenth, century to prove the existence of a similar name about 300 A.D. I should regard that unpublished inscription as an hint that *Beatrix* is to be treated as a general term of a name of the epithetual type in -*ctr*, making *Vestra* rather than *Vesta* the real name.

¹³ Cf. *C.I.L.* below at No. XIII.

the use of the Latin name is all the more probable.¹² About A.D. 300 the name Zeus (which was commonly used for the chief god of Icium and Zizyma during the first century) again came into use, no longer as a local god but as an envisagement of the supreme god who in the different countries was regarded by different races under varying forms and names.

In that late syncretism, half philosophic and half religious, the conceptions of the supreme god in different countries were regarded as attempts made by different races in different localities to give envisagement and name to the one Supreme Being. Among those racial envisagements the Jehovah of the Hebrews occupied a position of peculiar dignity and inspired special awe and fear, as being probably the most immediate and powerful impersonation of the ultimate power. Cumont has pointed out that the oblique cases Iovis and Iovi (especially the latter, which was the common one in dedications) approximated much more closely to the Hebrew name than the nominative form, and that especially under the form of identification with the Phrygian Sabazios the adoration paid to Iovi Sabazio was regarded as equivalent to the worship of Jehovah Sabbath, and that again the worship of the Most High God Θεός (or Zeus) ὄφιοςτος, which was (as I think) older than, and in origin independent of, any Jewish influence,¹³ came to be looked upon as merely the expression in Greek words of Jewish religious ideas, so that Θεός ὄφιοςτος was commonly used and recognised as indicating the Hebrew god.

2-4. Oroses presented certain articles which are enumerated. After οἴνος (*οἴνωσσεν*) there must be some word or words stating to what deity the gifts were presented, as in a case at Zizyma unpublished, this was [Mother Zizime]ne. There is also needed a word of commandation, e.g. εὐδέξει.¹⁴

4. A statement of the amount of gold by weight unjoined. Then follows a list of other articles that were presented. The first must be either holy staves or holy vessels, and the latter is more probable, as new statues would hardly be called holy (for the holiness of statues depended generally on their antiquity).

B. C.I.G. and I.G.R.R. have the impossible word καθάρτια. This is evidently the misrepresentation of a word ending in *batter*, which has the character of many terms in Diocletian's Edict, and confirms the view that the inscription belongs to his time. I conjectured *[οἰκου]βάτια*, "garments which were dyed purple in Laodiceia, not imported," seeing here a reference to that home industry which lasted through the ages at Lydia and died out only in comparatively modern time (during the degeneration of the economic

¹² Some forms may be quoted as showing the tendency of the time and the spelling that was used. The Pisidian Tiberinus was called Τίβερις (in some MSS. Ζεύσης) in the list of Hercules (H.G.A.M., pp. 429, 18). The dative occurs in inscriptions in the form ΥΩΦΟΝΔΑΙ and ΙΥΩΔΙΩΝΥΚΩΣ; in the Zizimene cult there seems to be a

certain mixing of Latin and Hebrew forms. The Greek representation of the Emperor Justin was Ιουδαιος.

¹³ C.R. Pl. 1, p. 33.

¹⁴ The commandment before presentation of the articles is typical of the Anatolian feeling, as well as characteristic of the spirit that ruled in the pagan reaction.

condition of Anatolia produced by the centralisation of government at Constantinople from 1815 onwards). The carpets of Ladik are no longer made, and the dyeing has ceased with the manufacture; but in commerce the old Ladik carpets are occasionally sold, and are recognised by experts through the local mark of a jug which is worked into them all.¹⁴ Anderson saw the true text (*εγνα*)¹⁵ φόδατια, 'purple silk/garments.'

8-12 The third priesthood of Orestes causes difficulty. The great Anatolian priesthoods were held for life (*τάπτις ήτα βλώ*), and strictly gave no opportunity for a second and third tenure; but in the third century there was much disorganisation and uncertainty, and Orestes may have been twice interrupted through change of imperial policy and alteration in the balance of religious power.¹⁶ During his third priesthood he made donations on a large scale (the number 212 occurs in 12). Whereas the former gifts had been directed to re-equip the temple and ritual (which had been suffered to degenerate, as occurred also at other places in Anatolia), the gifts in the third priesthood are of a different kind, refitting the establishment externally. It affords the best foothold to start from. Orestes gave or established or constructed 212 articles whose name begins with φα. We dismiss such words as φάλαρα, φαγέσια, φάρη: Buckler, comparing C.I.G. 3847 m, well suggested φα[ττώματα ξέλια], but 212 *laremaria* seem too many. Perhaps φα[ττα] suits the circumstances best: for there was a special cult of Zeus Phainios at the stables (Zizyma or Laodiceia), invoking the god as protector of the mangers at which the divine horses (*i.e.* employed in the imperial service *βεῖαι*)¹⁷ were stalled. It was a duty of the priest¹⁸ to maintain the imperial property (comprising large estates and important mines), and horses were needed in large numbers also for the traffic on the great Central Trade route and the Syrian route (*via Paphila, Saracra, Kybistra*), both of which passed through Laodiceia. A large establishment of grooms, etc. (*τερετοί*)¹⁹ was required. The horses of the road would be kept on the high ground at Zizyma during part of the year for reasons of health, and others were needed there for transport and agriculture. It is in keeping with known facts that during the degeneration of the imperial administration in the third century the equipment of these estates had been neglected. Orestes refitted the mangers, and the dedication to Zeus Phainios may belong to this very time.

¹⁴ See Miss Ransay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 6. Such medieval manufacture as this, which gave Ladik the distinctive title Yorgan-Ladik, were survivals of ancient art. So it is with two Pessinus tiles inscriptions in which the Emperor Trajan thanks a lady named Clodia... for her gift of two *θολούσαι* and four *τρυματα* (less complete, Körte, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 44; *I.G.R.R.* iii. 223). Articles sent to an emperor in such small number, and acknowledged from Antium, must have been specially beautiful and valued specimens of local industry.

¹⁵ Perhaps there may have been some re-

regularity in titulature during this late interval, so that the third year of office was falsely called 'priesthood for the third time.'

¹⁶ Cf. Sterrett, *W.E. I.* a *Class* belonging to the imperial and

¹⁷ At Antioch the imperial procurator was *ex officio* priest of the old Horion, using the divine authority to protect the interests of the imperial god, and owner of the Estates. This hypothesis (*Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 339, 345) is accepted by Tschetwowskij, *Bullock et. al. Kol. 20*.

¹⁸ See Calder in *Class. Rev.* 1919, p. 12; 1922, p. 12.

Moreover, fine carriage-horses were kept at manger to be used in processions (φατησόμενοι εἰς πορπάς καὶ πανηγύρες Heliod. vii. 29). In view of these facts the Laodicean dedication to Zeus Phatnios should be repeated here, as in 1886 I did not observe that the dedicator's name (almost wholly defaced) was engraved between the terms of the small altar which bears the inscription.

II.—*Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 237, n. 10; at Kadin-Khan (Ramsay).



A rude bust of the god appears in relief on the shaft, bearing corn-ears and a bunch of grapes. This is the ancient Lycaonian god, the giver of corn and wine, who is represented on the monuments from the Hittite period till the end of paganism. Eu[daimon] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma. He was a slave of Caesar, indubitably.

About this time another oikonomos, Ca[ndidus] the younger, made a dedication to Jov. Dionysos²² at Zizyma.

III. Unpublished: on a stele of native rock three miles south of Bakishli beside the road from the Phrygian monuments to Kara-Bissar, copied by me in 1883. This bears on the present subject.



²² The dedication to ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ (note 18), which falls between Jove and Jehovah. It was published by Miss Ramsay

in a Report to the Wilson Trustees more accurately than by me in *Class. Rev.* xii. 1901, p. 375.

It is the boundary stone of the grazing ground (?) for the imperial horses: date probably c. 400 A.D. This upland region was certainly a *saltus* belonging to the emperors. An inscription published in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 498, refers to this great estate, which would offer excellent pasture land to be used in the breeding and summer pasturing of horses. They were doubtless allowed to run free in summer, as they are by the Circassian horse breeders in the Uzan-Yails (the great plains between the upper Talyss and the Euphrates) at the present day; there can be no thought of a racecourse as the stone is in a narrow glen opening north; this is the southern limit of the horse-run. The horses were *γυμνοί*, i.e. they were turned loose without saddle and shoes. In 1883 I had a horse treated thus after a hard journey. After two months of free running on grass his hoofs had grown, and his value was quadrupled (as the market proved).

The climate is much too severe on the high plateau for these horses to run free in winter. The Circassians used to take theirs down to Cilicia in the cold season. On the plateau they must in cold weather be kept in stables, and in modern times the horse dealers are very careful to keep the horses from chill. It may be assumed that a great establishment existed near Zizyma and that it was re-equipped on a large scale by Orestes. The horses here are *φατιζόμενοι* (which in Byzantine usage is expressed as *φανιετοί*).

We now return to the first inscription, I line 9f. A restoration of the buildings is here described. An excellent example of *ἀπαρίστως* was found south of Konia by Radet (*B.C.H.* 1887, p. 63; better restored in my *Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 107). It tells how a priestess Ma, daughter of Pappas (where names of divine character are a feature of the Pagan reaction after 300 A.D.), restored and tiled the roof of the sanctuary for the Saints, and the Christian term *ἄροι* is adopted, a fact of Maximin's time. The pagan temples were decaying in a Christian land, and renovation was the fashion 300–312. The poetic word *μέλαθρον* was suggested here, another feature of the mode of 300–310 A.D. (on which see my paper in *R.S.A.* 1912, p. 64; also *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 153, 163), but I prefer *[τὸ] ξιθόρον*. The platforms and vaulted substructures (required on the hilly ground of Zizyma) were restored. The dots after K in Hamilton represent an illegible letter, probably Σ or ζ. It is common to find both *καὶ* and *κεῖ* in one inscription—*καὶ* καθηκεῖς would suit wellers in the vaulted substructures of temples built on sloping ground might probably be used for storing sacred utensils; such cellars have been disclosed at Antioch. The rhythm and balance, however, suggest a certain grouping, (1) the platform and substructures of the temple, (2) the skeuothekai, (3) mangers for horses. Orestes was a member of one of those great and wealthy priestly families, whose history and influence in Asia Minor are now coming to be known: see p. 146, also an article to be published in the *Classical Review*, tracing the history of such a family during the fourth century.

The last donation is difficult. Anderson takes the last three letters as a ligature of K-N. Ο preceding Κ is certainly an error on Hamilton's part

The easiest supposition is that a blur or break on the stone made him read Ο when the letter really was Ε or Ζ. This would give the word *ερημ[ην]* or *ερημ[ας] λεστης*; light booths (as still on the plateau) were required at Zizyma to accommodate worshippers at the great festivals. (Merchants attending those festivals (which were also fairs) are called *ερημιται* (see *Letbas, Boardia*, 588, l. 53; and Foucart on 326, § 20). J. G. C. A.) One feast near Zizyma is still celebrated annually by the Greeks (see my *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 378).

12-20. It was resolved, in view of the services rendered by Orestes, that temple officials should celebrate on his behalf annually a festival or games and should perform a sacrifice on his behalf on the 10th day of (March or) May in honour of the blessed dead and for the salvation of the Lords-Emperors and the *colonii* of the temple estates. On imperial estates it was usual in dedications on behalf of the salvation of the Lords-Emperors to add also the community of *colonii*.

In the last four lines (from a bold and suggestive conjecture of Anderson's, in which he unconsciously agreed with the evidence of an unpublished epitaph found at Leonium)¹² the god-emperor is introduced into the new cult; in Lycaonia this introduction was made to an unusual extent. In both inscriptions a great sacrifice¹³ is made to the dead man, now identified with the god; the new ritual blends with that of the reigning emperor,¹⁴ who also is the god, and the *colonii* share in the benefits of the cult, associated in the salvation of the emperors according to the common formula.

19. The *kletores* are the possessors of *colonii* on the imperial estates at Zizyma. Allusions to *kletores* occur frequently in inscriptions of the fourth century or later.¹⁵ They naturally came into relation with the priest Orestes, as the whole country around the sanctuary belonged to the god, who was in old time the native deity (οὐ θεός; or Zeus, or Apollo, or Dionysos, etc.); then the imperial god took his place; at the time of this inscription the Roman-national god Jupiter summed up the native and the imperial god. The *kletores* were probably defined as of some special estate.

While there is much in the general thought and something even in the expression of this decree to indicate a certain parallelism to Christian ideas there is, if the restoration is correct, no imitation of Christian expression such as is found in the remarkable inscription of Akmonia dated a few years later, 313 A.D., in which the language of the Fourth Gospel is imitated.

The priestly family to which Orestes belonged has evidently dropped all

* This epitaph was intended for publication here, but my text is challenged with a rival text by a friend, and must await further consideration. That the emperor is there also introduced into the epigraphical ritual is certain. I find in this ritual also the gods Andateis (plural as *C.I.O.* 9880 (cf. pp. 25, 1100 and *L.C.B. Ptoe.* i. p. 216, ii. p. 376, where Hamilton's text οὐ θεός θεοδοσίου is correct), but my friend introduces the twelve gods.

¹² Hekatombe; a possible restoration would be *τάσσει*, but this idea is unnecessary, as annual ritual is expressed in 'the 10th Day of (May or) March.'

¹³ In this case perhaps *expiation*.

¹⁴ An example dating about 480 A.D. is published by Mommsen from my copy in *Bericht*, 1897, p. 669 (*Graecorum Sciri Histor.* i. p. 361).

expression of Roman citizenship and retains only the ancient hieratic name. The priest directs and officiates as *Orestes* and not as *L. Calpurnius Orestes*. This seems to have been the Roman *genus* into which several priestly families entered when they received the *civitas*, as may be gathered from two inscriptions of Pisidian Antioch,² and also from the Iconian inscription mentioning *L. Calpurnius Orestes*, princeps coloniae and *curator* at Iconium (*J.G.R.R.* iii. 284, which we have repeated and confirmed). The study and practice of medicine appears from those Antiochian inscriptions to have been hereditary in the priestly family, and to have continued even after it became Christian. In the pagan revival there was a tendency to recur to Anatolian nomenclature and to forget the Roman citizenship. Most of the pagan inscriptions of the early fourth century show this characteristic, while the Christian inscriptions 320-370 A.D. rather emphasise the citizenship. On the name *Orestes*, often hieratic in Anatolia, see p. 131, and note 45.

IV. *C.I.G.* 3994 (from Lucas) should be read as follows: at least two lines lost at top:

{*α δέινα ιερεὺς Μητρὸς τῆς ἀπὸ Ζεῦ·*}³
υμαὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ
ρωὶ θλοὶ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀρ-
λοπάτων κατεστέβαστ.

As I differ so frequently from the editors of *C.I.G.* (where many other Anatolian inscriptions urgently require correction), it is a pleasure to record that their acute suggestion here has been confirmed and completed by modern discovery. In the first four letters of this fragment they suspect that there is a reference to some epithet of the goddess Latona or Diana such as *Διόβητος*. In 1886 I found the first of a series of inscriptions which show that the protecting goddess of Iconium was called Mother Zizimene or Zizimmena. In publishing this (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 237) I suggested that the name was equivalent to Dindymene. The difference of vowel in the second syllable constituted a difficulty, and Mommsen in his comment on *C.L.L.* iii. 13638 doubted the identification, which is accepted by Anderson and Kreuzer, *Eint.* p. 196. Since then it has been found that the epithet is local, derived from the mines of cinnabar and copper at Sisima (which is obviously the ancient Zizima or Zizymna). It is therefore evident that the form Zizymene was possible. It is unnecessary to refer once more to the proof that Θ and Ζ interchanged with each other freely in Anatolian names, and that nasalisation was also introduced freely. On double Μ see p. 148.

A feature in this inscription is that the Mother goddess is mentioned first and Apollo after her. Generally Apollo, or whatever name is applied to the god, is mentioned first in the public inscriptions, though in the Mysteries

² The analogy would imply a general act of *Vespasian* in prov. Galatia, giving the *civitas* to all the great priestly families that had not yet received it. This remains at yet

a hypothesis. The two inscriptions have been sent to the *Classical Review*.

³ In this Anatolian word I keep the accent of the nominative.

which must have been celebrated at Zizyma the important position which belongs to the Mother-goddess was undoubtedly emphasised.

It may now be regarded as practically certain that the Dindymos of Kybela and Didyma the seat of Apollo bore the same name as Zizyma the seat of the Mother-goddess.²⁰ At Didyma the goddess recedes into the background and is hardly ever mentioned, while the god alone under the name Apollo appears publicly; but the analogy of all other Asia Minor religious centres proves that, with more complete knowledge of the religious ritual practised at Didyma, we should find the goddess alongside of the god. At Zizyma the goddess is, even to public view, the more important figure, but the god under varying names, Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus, and so on, is frequently mentioned along with her, and the two constitute the divine pair. It is characteristic of Hellenic feeling to lay stress on the god, and to keep the goddess in the background.

V. C.I.G. 3095, at Icomium, from Paul Lucas:—

BABΩΔΙCYXHNMEIA·ΑΘΗ . . . κατεστείλα[σε δι' {ε}ρχήν μετ]ά·Αθη·
ΝΑΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΟC εα[σ]τού τοῦ ἀνδρός²¹

It would be hard to justify by any Lycaonian or Phrygian analogy this form of expressing a vow. The copy of Lucas requires no addition and hardly any correction; it is a complete dedicatory inscription of early Imperial period: read

BABΩ ΔΙ·ΕΥXHN META·ΑΘΗΝΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ·ΑΝΔΡΟC²²

The spelling ‘Αθηναῖον’ ought to be treated as Ionic Greek; it is allowed in later Attic, and it is perhaps due to dialectic variation, not to Phrygian mispronunciation. This would be a sign of early date, which suits the simplicity of the dedication and the use of the name Zeus (see p. 133). The form Δι as dative is not rare in dedications. The name of the lady, Babo, is Anatolian; see my note in *J.H.S.* 1882, p. 126, where it is quoted from *C.I.G.* 4142 and is connected with the name Baubo in the legend of Demeter, through an older form Bambo, from which is derived the Syrian name Bambyke or Mablog (the Greek Histupolis, the chief seat of the Syrian goddess).

VI. Sterrett, *W.E.* No. 548: at Apollonia (Ost-Berlin). Recognising its exceptional importance, both Anderson and I have repeatedly attempted (from 1888 to 1912) to find it. It has occupied the attention of Professor G. Hirschfeld, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1888, p. 549, and Professor A. Wilhelm in *A. E. Mitt. Ost.* 1897, p. 85. I give their text combined, as Hirschfeld did

²⁰ Sidyma in Lydia the same word!

²¹ The editors would have found it in our copy in much worse shape, but there is no justification here for the verb

²² Of the changes Ω for Ε meets no analogy; the others are made in *C.I.G.* with many needless alterations.

²⁷ little, in 11–15, and Wilhelm, accepting Hirschfeld's restoration of 1–10,²⁸ confined himself to 11–15.

Sterrett's copy, though so incomplete that he did not give a transcription, is good, but the stone was evidently worn and the letters faint. Our text keeps closer to his copy than Hirschfeld: Wilhelm, and justifies it against his and their alteration in 4. My coadjutors differ from one another about the verbal restoration at one point, and I give both texts, which agree in meaning. As I differ widely from Hirschfeld's interpretation, during the inscription nearly two centuries later than he does, I premise that he made distinct progress towards the elucidation of the text and that some of his suggestions were excellent; but his conception of the circumstances and period was mistaken, and therefore both he and Wilhelm, who accepted his views, were unable to attain a satisfactory reading.

The inadequacy of Hirschfeld-Wilhelm's text is evident. There is no construction; and we could make no progress, until Calder suggested that the restoration of 1-2 was false, and that the inscription commemorates, not the confirmation of the king's settlement, but the abrogation of it (*nefritu-*
laqasra or similar word). As soon as this was suggested the whole situation was illuminated, and the text resulted:-

* NL 549 enthält eine auf Binsfelds
Befehl verfasste Grenzurkündigung nach nach
Hirschfeld's Bezeichnung und die letzten Zeilen
unterschrieben gefolgt.

Owing to lack of proper type the printer used Σ in place of Ξ in this and various other of Stevens' inscriptions. It has a

tracing of his copy. This gives a book of smaller dates; but the forms Δ , Π see later. Such errors as Π for IT , O for Θ , Θ for Ω , etc., are found in a very dimmed form, which has required thirty-three years to interpret.

Anderson.

τὸν μὲν ταστήταν·
τα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλέα·
ος [εἰδά]το[ξ]η προς·
[ορίσασας τοῖς]
Τημεθριαδέσ[τ]ρον Ο[δ]ύ·
ραιμα χώρας καὶ Ο·
φεως Κεφαλῆ[ν] λε·
γομένην καὶ Λύδο·
μ]α τὰς κατάγου·
τὰ [πρό]τες Μίσιλωι κτλ.

Buckler.

τὸν μεταστήταν·
τα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέα·
ος διάταξις πρὸς·
Τημεθριαδέσ[τ]ρον Ο[δ]ύ·
ραιμα χώρας καὶ Ο·
φεως Κεφαλῆ[ν] λε·
γομένην καὶ Λύδο·
τα τὰς κατάγου·
τα προς Μίσιλωι κτλ.

The rest as H.-W.

We start from TON (Cahier). Sterrett's Y is a misrepresentation of the oblique central stroke of N.²⁴ Thus results a construction which is altogether suitable on the pedestal of a statue: cf. C.I.G. iii. 2093, and many more. The name of the municipality must have been mentioned, and is necessary in view of II. Even the Ironian honorary inscription C.I.Q. 3993 (which resembles this Apollonian inscription as beginning with the accusative of the person honoured and omitting the verb) mentions the donor, a magistrate acting for the State; yet it is of the late fourth century, when the feeling of municipal individuality and authority had grown weak. Still more, in an inscription c. 24 A.D., instant with municipal triumph over a rival city, must it be assumed that the name of the people which dedicated the statue was expressed. Moreover, the name of the person to whom the statue was dedicated must also have been mentioned. Two suppositions are open: (1) The name of the people bestowing the honour and the name of the person honoured were engraved on the broad higher member of the pedestal, in large letters. This was probably the fact. (2) There may have been an inscription on another side of the stone which was concealed from Sterrett's view. Perhaps both suppositions are true.

Anderson's and Buckler's texts agree exactly in the meaning, though arriving at it in different ways. The former is expressed in strict epigraphic style, but involves the supposition that Sterrett omitted one line of the text. The other follows Sterrett closely, but makes the expression rather rhetorical, so that epigraphic taste rebels. It must, however, be remembered that the inscription below the statue of an important personage, as here, was not necessarily expressed in purely epigraphic style. For example, in the statue to the regiary officer Dionysius at Pisidian Antioch,²⁵ there is an inscription on one side of the bust in ordinary epigraphic style, and on the other side an inscription of non-epigraphic style, semi-metrical, using language of a rhetorical type such as might commend itself to the taste of the third century A.D.

²⁴ See in the analogous case Hogarth and Hicks read MOYI Habensay and Wilkins MON (Introd. p. 12).

²⁵ Sterrett, E.J. 92; more completely Cahier in J.H.S. 1912, p. 201.

The construction in Buckler's text is more difficult, which results from its rhetorical and allusive character: (1) The dative of a place-name after προε is replaced by the ethnic: I cannot quote an exact parallel, but Greek as spoken at Apollonia was perhaps not careful of strict usage, and the phrase προε Τυμβιαῖος is regarded as equivalent to a single adjective "Tymbrias-ward (districts)." (2) The article might be expected with the ethnic, but there are sufficient examples of its omission. (3) We miss the statement that the three districts had formerly been assigned to Tymbrias; but this can be gathered from the situation and from the fact that the King's settlement was altered. Anderson attains perfect clearness by the ingenious suggestion of a missing line; his text is expressed in ordinary epigraphic style throughout, and positively states what the shorter version leaves us to gather, viz., that the three districts had previously belonged to Tymbrias. The choice remains between these two forms of text, and each has its advantages. The shorter text keeps close to the copy, and the strange pseudo-rhetorical and pseudo-grammatical construction may be pardoned to patriotic feeling at Apollonia. Anderson's text may rely on the analogy of W.E. No. 370, where Sterrett omits a line without notice²²; but a counter-argument lies in the fact that it requires ΙΩ in place of Sterrett's Π, a violent change (Buckler reads ΙΩ for Π, a change permissible on our principles).

The purport is: 'Him who altered the king's settlement (which assigned to Tymbrias the land of Ouranum; and what is called Snake's Head and the Channel leading down to Misyle), and who assigned (those districts) to them (i.e. the Apollonians), and fixed boundaries: on account of his good faith and noble-mindedness'; or, in the shorter text, 'him who remodelled the king's settlement and the Tymbrias-ward districts . . . and assigned' etc.

Our view is that the stone is complete. Sterrett in his two volumes was careful to state how much loss each inscription has suffered. Sometimes he gives the information in one way, sometimes in another; but there is hardly a case in which he leaves it uncertain whether the stone is complete or not. Our view is corroborated by the fact that the lines are very short,²³ and the pedestal would be too tall and slender for the basis of a statue (which it certainly was), if it contained at the top a preamble, necessarily rather long. Two names in large letters, the dedicatory and the person honoured, stood at a higher place on the monument.

The situation evidently was that the power both of the king and of the person honoured extended over Apollonia and over Tymbrias (in the Pisidian mountains E. and S.E. from the Limnai, Egerdir Lake). Three districts lay as a 'Debatable Land' between the two cities. The king's διάταξις assigned those districts to Tymbrias; the person honoured here gives them to Apollonia. Evidently these border districts had formed a bone of contention

²² The corrected text in my *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 234. The eye readily passes over the heavier obliterated space: I speak from eye witness of No. 370, where the stone and the space show that a line has been

lost.

²³ The letters in each line vary from eleven to fourteen. I would have preferred [σερά]ναι to [θερά]ναι, following Sterrett's copy, but that gives sixteen letters, which is impossible.

between the two states for a long time; and the claims set up by each (doubtless based on former history) had been decided in different ways by a king and by a new authoritative power.

Hirschfeld supposes that the date of the inscription is immediately after 189 B.C., that the king was Eumenes II, further that Eumenes II founded Apollonia, and that the person who is honoured in this monument at Apollonia confirmed the settlement made by the king. I can see no reasonable justification for this view at any point in Pergamenian history. It is highly improbable that such authority as is here attributed to the person honoured could belong to a representative of Eumenes. Moreover, Pergamenian authority never extended over Tymbrisia.²⁴ Finally Apollonia was not a Pergamenian but a Seleucid colony founded in the earliest period by Nikator himself²⁵ and Eumenes made no change except to increase the military strength of Apollonia by settling there a body of Thracian soldiers devoted to himself and his dynasty.²⁶

At first I thought that the king might be Mithradates VI, to whom Phrygia belonged for a time, and that a Roman governor of Asia (Sulla or Laelius who ruled Asia and Phrygia after the departure of Sulla though only with the title *quaestor pro praetore*) altered the settlement of Mithradates.²⁷ This might justify Sturzett's copy of the third letter, if we could understand that some words were lost above containing an accusative and that the text begins with [Μιθράδα]τον, but the theory had to be rejected. I need not detail the arguments, which become evident in the discussion.

The date of the inscription is immediately after the formation of the provinces of Galatia. The Roman governor had authority over both Apollonia and Tymbrisia. The king whose constitution he altered was Amyntas, whose heritage was now being organised as the province Galatia. The governor held full power to transfer territory and to set up boundary stones. He is praised by the people for his noble-mindedness (*μεγαλοδρόμων*), which is a quality far from suitable for a citizen of a republican city, but becoming a high Roman officer. The person who dealt in this way with lands and bounds must be either some special envoy exercising the full powers of the Roman State, or the governor of Galatia representing the emperor himself; but the record is that Gaius Lollus was sent to organise the new province of Galatia, and we may assume that he was the person honoured. He is praised for *πίστη*, which probably implies that there existed some promise, or recognition of the right of the Apolloniatai, on the part of some Roman general in previous time, and that the award was based on this plea; but the truth undoubtedly is that the Roman policy supported order and civilisa-

²⁴ The victorious Eumenes would not give his own territory to an unimportant foreign city like Tymbrisia.

²⁵ The cult of Nikator (evidently an founder) dated late; see Sturzett, *B.R.* 587.

²⁶ In this I assume the result of a study of

Apollonia, still unpublished.

²⁷ Mithradates Euergetes (d. 120 B.C.) also governed Phrygia for a few years, but ruled no part of Phrygia. The acts of Euergetes (see O.G. I.S. 430) were wholly confirmed by Rome.

tion, such as existed in every Greek city state, whereas on the contrary the Pisidians were regarded in the early province Galatia as hostile to the Roman order and system. Whatever might be the ostensible reason, this principle underlay the strengthening of Apollonia against Tymbræus: the whole policy of Rome in the East is involved in the decision.

The three districts lie on the frontier between the two cities; and this points without doubt to the land on the N.E. side of the double Limmæi, viz., the strip of territory on the E. coast of Hieron Lake and on the N.E. coast of Egerdir Lake. Here the physical conformation makes each district separately recognisable with certainty in itself. The Channel is the pass up which goes the great road to the E. (from Apameia by Apollonia to Antioch and Lycœnia and Syria) along the course of a stream that runs down from Sultan-Dagh and from Kara-Kush-Dagh on E. and N. (a stream whose old name is unknown) to the N.E. corner of Hieron Lake. The pass through which it goes is called the Aulon, a word employed by Strabo²⁰ to indicate a kind of pass which, like a funnel or channel, has two open ends and a narrow passage between them. It leads down towards Misyles. The name Misyles was recognised by Hirschfeld among the list of places in this neighbourhood, villages or farms, which were given in a long inscription copied by me in 1882 and published in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 1 ff.²¹ (more correctly in *Studies in History of Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 325). A great history attaches to this Channel, which cannot here be discussed.²²

Snake's Head impresses every traveller who looks from the W. coast of Hieron Lake or Egerdir Lake. The S. side of the Channel is formed by a long ridge which extends from Sultan-Dagh far out into the lake, as if trying to divide the lake into two parts; the parts now bear separate names (Egerdir S. and Hieron N.), though in ancient times both were called Limmæi. I saw this long spit of land in 1882 when traversing the rootless western coast of the double lake (where no communication is maintained, though there is an easy way between the lake and the western mountains). The remarkable appearance of that long promontory impressed me at the time, and the memory is 'what is called Snake's Head.' This expression suggests that it is the translation of a native name, Phrygian or Pisidian. There is no reason to think that the name was imposed by the Greek-speaking settlers in Hellenistic time.

The idea appears sometimes in the Anatolian religious reliefs that the heaven above is an example for the earth, that the god above is engaged in performing the same ritual act which his priest is performing on earth, and

²⁰ On p. 382 the cities carry the river between Karnis and Troglis and between Troglis and the plain of Isammus.

²¹ I conjectured at first Misyles, but Missélik correctly restored Misyles from Storck's inscription, and his conjecture was confirmed as the probable reading of the stone partially by myself in 1883 and more positively by Professor Collander in 1893, and

was finally proved by the occurrence of a name, beginning Mis-, in another inscription (*J.H.S.* 1912, p. 184).

²² It is the Pisidian Aulon, where Antigonus gained a victory in 310 (Polyaen. *Sect.* c. 4, badly misplaced by modern historians). Here the Turks defeated Manuel Comnenus in 1176, and Barbarossa defeated the Turks in 1190.

that guidance for mankind in all circumstances is to be found by looking upwards. Now the heaven at night was covered over with a variety of symbols, seen in the grouping of the stars, the Lion, the Great Bear, the Twins, the Balance, and a host of others, human, semi-divine and animal. It follows that there must be the same on earth and the surface of the plateau of Asia Minor was covered with a similar network of signs constituted by the mountains and lakes and streams. A striking mountain, four or five miles S.E. of Apameia-Kelaimai, is called by the Turks the Rising Moon (Ai-Doghmush). This poetic name reveals an imaginative way of contemplating nature which is wholly foreign to the Turkish mind and geographical nomenclature, and I have often mentioned it as evidently a translation in Turkish of an old Anatolian name.²⁰ This mountain is not that on which the Ark rested;²¹ the latter is quite close to Kelaimai; it is marked by a very ancient church, probably of the fourth century, of which only the ground plan and the lowest course of large blocks of stone remain; and it was the heart and the religious centre of Kelaimai, out of its base flow the Marasys at one point and the Laughing and Weeping Fountains at another, while 200 yards away to W. are the Therma, and the Meander rises behind it on the S.E. The Rising Moon is a much loftier mountain, and its shape and height mark it out as a prominent feature of the landscape from a very great distance. I have seen it rising above the intervening hills from a point a few miles W.S.W. of Oushak on the road to Philadelphia. At Iconium again the twin mountains which constitute the Balance (Tekel or Takali) are the most striking feature in the landscape (see p. 163). The river Kapros was doubtless a real goat-genius to the Anatolian eye. Whether Lykos meant a wolf, or was merely assimilated to the Greek word, remains uncertain. Semitic examples suggest the latter opinion, and the names involving the stem LYK remain an unsolved riddle. [The Armenian Lykos is called in classical Armenian Gail, which has the same meaning as λύκος (Hübschmann, Armen. Etymal. p. 431). Kelkid = Gail-Kiel. Lykos applied to rivers liable to sudden fierce spates i—the wolf-genius. J. O. C. A.]

We know too little about old nomenclature in Anatolia to trace this subject in detail, but the Snake's Head in Pisidia is an example of the native custom. The Snake is closely connected with the god who has his seat on Olympos, and the close relation between the two was revealed in the Mysteries to the initiated. The god is embodied in one form as the Bull and in another form as the Serpent, 'the Bull is the father of the Serpent and the Serpent of the Bull' (according to the formula of the Mysteries). Around every seat of ancient Anatolian religion it is probable that the local topography showed numerous manifestations and epiphanies of the divine family.

²⁰ I quote from *The New Year's well-known verse* of the Japanese poet Kanou: 'How sad to see the light of the moon sinking behind the edge of the western hills. How good it would be if the light were always to remain for ever.' Ai-Doghmush is hardly seen

from E. (the Plateau), only from W. and N.W.

²¹ The local legend of the Ark was adopted under Jewish influence, and is taken up in the Sibylline Books (L. B. Ph., II, p. 370).

The third district of the debatable land lies on the E. coast of Egerdie Lake: it is a low coast land between the Pisidian mountains of Tymbrias S. and Snake's Head N., and the principal village in modern times is Gelendos (bearing evidently an ancient name in Turkish form, and containing some remains of antiquity);⁴² it is bounded E. by a ridge apparently alluvial,⁴³ which extends completely across the valley of the Anthios, the river of Antioch, except where this river has cut through it a narrow deep canon. This coast-land is Ouranoum and through it the Anthios flows to the lake. It has been very imperfectly examined by travellers. Arundell and Sterrett (also Calder and I) have been at Gelendos and along the road leading from Gelendos to Demir-Kapu, a difficult pass between the Pisidian mountains of Tymbrias and the S.E. coast of Egerdie Lake.

Carrying out Buckler's suggestion that Sterrett's copy implied in *τυρπαδεῖον τὸ ὄραμα*, Cahier pointed out that the name was connected with the Pisidian and Lycian personal name Opramoas, and this forthwith recalled an enigmatic inscription which I copied in 1882 in the land of Amaboura (E. of Tymbrias and S.E. of Ouranoum), and published in *Jth. Mitt.* 1883, p. 72. In the first century A.D. two brothers, Oberimianos and Monsaios, presented to their city certain property, describing themselves as 'descendants of Manes Ouranomous.' This strange expression remained for many years a problem. At the time when it was discovered it was almost unique, but one could gather that Manes Ouranomous must have been some god, or king, or hero, who ranked in popular estimation as the founder of a great family of this Pisidian land, some historical or semi-divine figure, who stood in relation to heaven on the one hand and earth on the other, sufficiently human to be the ancestor of a great family, and yet sufficiently removed from humanity to be a creature of mythology, if not of religion. Nowadays, through many inscriptions, we gain a conception of the Anatolian social system which was undreamed of before. There lasted through the Roman imperial time many great families, usually representatives of old dynasties or hieratic families, tracing back their ancestry to semi-divine figures of remote mythology and boasting of this descent in public records. At Colophon the great personages connected with the temple and oracle of the Klarion Apollo called themselves 'Herakleidai, sprung from Arlys,'⁴⁴ the old Lydian historical or mythological king. At Pessinona the priest-dynasts took the name Atis, and constituted a great native family which in due time gained the *civitas*. At Olba, in Western Cilicia, the priest-kings called themselves in succession Ajax and Teucer,⁴⁵ connecting therewith some unrecorded mythological tale, worked up in the form that Teucer, son of Ajax, departed from among the Greeks at Troy and settled in Cyprus. At Komana (Capp.) and Kastabala the priest-kings were the representatives of Orestes (as Strabo tells).⁴⁶ At the priestly centre Zizyma, six hours N. of

⁴² H.G.A.M. p. 334. Ampelusa at Gelendos? Austrian explorers found Ampelusa S. of Dey-Sukur: are the two identical?

⁴³ I speak without geological knowledge.

⁴⁴ See Jakschylle, xv. 1912, pp. 46-7.

⁴⁵ Yarov and Tarku: see note 10.

⁴⁶ Orestes, native Oras, p. 131; ep. Orkis-te, Orkorkol, H.G.A.M. p. 229.

Iconium, Orestes was a frequent name in the great priestly family. Again, of many more examples one is very similar to the present case:⁴² a certain gentleman in the Roman period describes himself as a descendant of Lykomedes, employing this name as so familiar to all readers that without any further title or information the whole picture of noble ancestry was recalled. M. Haussoullier, who edits the inscription, takes this Lykomedes to be the priest-king of Komana Pontica under Mark Antony;⁴³ but more probably Lykomedes was the mythical, half-historical and half-divine ancestor of the priestly family at Komana. In an inscription (*O.G.L.S.*, 513, Fraenkel, No. 525, at Pergamos) occurs the expression *πρίων τοῦ Επι(λα)ιδῶν*: the Epilai were some royal or priestly family.⁴⁴ The descendants of the old Athenian and Ionian Sacraeis (or certain elected and representative officials in their place called Sacraeis) had religious duties in these cities. At Skepsis there were two royal families (Strabo, p. 607) descended from Hektor and Aeneas respectively. Compare the patronymics in Lydia Labuntides and Tuteides,⁴⁵ which point to old pre-Roman noble families; also Thynnaridai at Synnada in Phrygia with ΘΥΝΝΑΠΟC on coins. The Abduiae claimed descent from an ancestor Chromios (whom they styled πατεράτορα, see Linckof-Blumer in *Bonnstorff Festschrift*), and the kings of Bosporus in Roman time from Eumolpus son of Posidon and from Herakles (*Comptes Rendus*, 1862, p. 26).

These great families are a feature of Anatolian history which can be traced through the centuries. They are known in the fourth century B.C. from the great inscription of the Temple at Sardis, and in the beginning of the fifth century from the case of Pythios the wealthy landowner and trader of Kelainai, who entertained Xerxes too hospitably for his own happiness; and they can be traced even earlier. In the wars among the would-be successors of Alexander the Great, they are seen in the owners of the Tetrapyrigin, the castellated residences in the form of quadrangles which gave employment to the military activity of Eumenes before 300 B.C.⁴⁶ While the great priestly families at the various religious centres were specially prominent, yet some of those landowners belonged to conquering tribes and nations who had successively occupied Asia Minor. They lived after the patriarchal fashion in those family mansions, with their sons and their sons' wives around them: and the word *nympha* was customarily applied to a married lady resident with her husband's family in the sense of daughter-in-law or sister-in-law indifferently. Such a lady was *nympha* of the whole household.⁴⁷ Further, to those great families belonged several

⁴² Λέων Ἀρετός corresponds exactly to the Persian phrase *lāris kāzāvi Māris ērāpādā*. The plural *πρίων* *επιλαι* probably denotes an old priestly family.

⁴³ *R. de Phil.* xxiii. 1899, p. 149; see Wilhelmi, *Nova Hebe* 1917, p. 42. W.H.H.

⁴⁴ The only Epilae known to Roscher was

son of Helen and Chlora; an unrecorded legend may have connected him with Perseus.

⁴⁵ Strabo, p. 82; *H.C.H.* xii. 1887, p. 84; See. Mon., No. 497.

⁴⁶ C. B. Fär. II. pp. 419 ff. Restowicz, *Arch. d. Gesch. d. r. Koden*, pp. 233 f.

⁴⁷ *Stud. Hist. E. Pers.* p. 71, etc.

of the most important church leaders in early Christian history. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus were both sprung from aristocratic families, and they participated in the highest Greek education of the time, studying at the University of Athens in the enjoyment of abundant leisure and every advantage. In the account which Gregory of Nyssa gives of the Arian heretic Eunomios there appears the contempt of a rather exclusive aristocrat for the man of the people, who had to make his living by various shifts and employments which Gregory was too ready to regard as contemptible. The Tetraptergia in which such families dwelt were developed into the great early Turkish buildings in Anatolia, the colleges (*Medresse*) and the castellated khans; and the typical form of the English College in Oxford or Cambridge is a reflexion of the old Tetraptergion.²⁰

It is evident that Manes Ourammonos is Manes who rules the land Ouramma, and consideration of the evidence accumulated in Nos. IV.-VIII. leaves no doubt that Manes is the native name of the local god, adopted by the Phrygians, but really an old Anatolian deity (just as Kybele was worshipped in Anatolia millennia before the Phrygians entered the country). Now the deity who was specially worshipped in all the country round was named by the Greeks Men (also Men Askaenos, uniting a Hellenized Anatolian name with a Phrygian mythological name equivalent to Askanios, at Eumenia, Apollonia and Antioch). In Antioch he was the impersonation of the divine power at one of the greatest sanctuaries and religious centres of all Anatolia. In what relation are we to understand that the Men of Greek inscriptions stands to Manes, the Anatolian god of Ouramma? Is the resemblance merely accidental, or is it not evident that the word Men is an attempt to impart meaning in Greek to a native name? I cannot hesitate as to the answer;²¹ the facts combine to make the proof irresistible. Manes of Ouramma is the Men of Antioch,²² but Ouramma was less Hellinised and more Phrygo-Pisidian than Antioch. The land, being a frontier district, was one in which Phrygian and Pisidian elements were mingled.²³

The spelling Ouramma is probably due to the attempt to represent either stress or accent in the original native word. We may compare the form Zizimene, which is sometimes spelled Zizimena. The shorter form is correct, because the place was Zizim or Zizyma; the double M was an attempt to represent the secondary accent falling on the antepenultimate in VIII. the spelling Mannes, Mannis, indicates that stress or accent falls on the first syllable.²⁴

There would be much more to say about the land of Ouramma, if space permitted. Manes of Ouramma was the ancestral hero of the great family of

²⁰ See *Studies in the History of Eastern Provinces*, pp. 372 f.; *Ptolemais and other Studies*, p. 376; *Jahrs der Phys.* p. 197.

²¹ Manes or Mannis with long penult VII., VIII., and note 54.

²² See 'Ancestral pedigree in an Anatolian inscription of Roman times' (I regard Askala as

an invented form, late in character, for Askala).

²³ Strabo, p. 629, lays emphasis on this mixture.

²⁴ Wiliamowitz in *Hermes*, xxiv, 222, takes Marris for Māris. Wilhelmi (see No. VII.) regards Māris as intermediate.

the district, and his descendants were important citizens of an adjoining Pisidian city, Anaboura, in the first century. The sanctuary of the district Ouranima was situated in the ridge that terminates in the promontory Snake's Head. In this we recognise the sacred snake into which the god transforms himself in the Mysteries; and that ridge seems to run down from Mount Olympus, the modern Sultan-Dagh, the sultan or king of all the lesser ridges of mountains around, which is prominent in the view as one looks from the lake or the Apollonian valley towards E.²⁹ There also lay the seat of the worship of Zeus Ourudamenos or Eurudamenos. In the *Classical Review*, 1904, pp. 416 f., I argued that Ourudamenos is probably closer to native pronunciation, while Eurudamenos is intended by popular etymology to suggest a Greek meaning, though incorrectly in every way; also that -mēnos contains the name of the god Men. It seems now safe to infer that this epithet marks Zeus as a Hellenised form of the native god Men of Ouruda, and that Ouruda is Ourana. Manes Ouranios, the native god, was Hellenized as Zeus Ouruda-mēn-os.

Ouranios probably became a personal name, though I cannot quote exact proof; but it occurs in the dialectic variety Opramios, and probably in the Anabourian family sprung from Manes the -names (Ohrimos and) Obrimikos were Greeked versions of Ouranios-Opramios.³⁰ The employment in Anatolia of Greek names which had a certain superficial resemblance to native names is a large one on which it is impossible here to enter; examples see p. 169, etc. (Tarku-Tenkros, Yavan-Aiant-, compounds like Menemaches, Melichos, Thameas-Tolomeachos, Lazarias [or some other compound of Is-J-lazis, Oaris (=Orestes, etc.)]. In Cappadocia Lazēmis is father of Jason, showing the growing process in operation (Grathe, *Vorderasiens*, esp. i, p. lxxiv.).

The close connexion between local and personal names in Anatolia was a marked feature (see *H.G.A.M.* pp. 144, 189, 226, 439, etc.; Kretschmer, *Einführung*, p. 183): the personal name was derived in some cases, and original in others: Kidramios, Kidramios, town Kīdrūnios; Pappas, town Pappa; Suetas, town Saltas; Keraias, people Kērēnītai; Trokondas, people Trokōndēi; Midas, town Midas; Kadya, town Kotyāion; Kadus (equivalent to

²⁹ In this I assume a topographical blunder which cannot be fully discussed. The village Olympokion is known, and in A.D. 733 a hermit called St. George Lianitis, evidently connected with the Lianas, had his hermitage in Mount Olympus. I take Mount Olympus here to include in rough Byzantine fashion the ridge which extends from the peak of Olympus to the lake (this ridge was the Sardes, and the hermitage is still to the present day an object of pilgrimage among the Greeks of Apollonia and Sparta on August 15th, the Assumption of the Virgin (instituted as a festival early in the seventh century by the Emperor Maurice). The hermitage

was visited by Miss Bell in 1907 and by Anderson and myself in 1912. Close to it there is an ancient Phrygian tomb, doubtless regarded as the tomb of some early Phrygian leader, and also a great natural monument like a rock-shelter on the water's edge. Nature and popular belief combined to make this place a religious centre.

³⁰ Cf. Tigranias, Sterrett, *W.Z.* 230 (revised by me 1891); Lauer-Thomae. Many favour point-to *oura* or *oura* as closest to Anatolian pronunciation; but *Ouru* is the modern name of this Troad, and probably has *Ouranopolis*.

Kotys?), Kadous, town Kadōs (*Κάδος*); Akkiles, Akylas, Akhides, town Akkilaion;⁵⁷ Atreus, town Ατρεῖ; Otreus, town Otrous (*Οτροῦς*), Otrous and Ὁρπας; Tatus or Tates, village Tataion or Tottaion; etc.

The land or district Ouranumma is called Ouranopolis by Ptolemy, who gives this as one of the nine towns in Pisidian Kabalia; all nine are wrongly assigned to this imaginary region; for Ptolemy is more inaccurate about the classification of Pisidian towns than about any other region in Anatolia.⁵⁸

VII. *C.I.G.* Abl. 175b; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 36, on a small marble stele, 182 m. high, in letters c. 450–425 B.C., purports to be the epitaph of a Phrygian woodcutter 'who died in the War'.⁵⁹

Φρυγῶν δε ἀριστοὶ ἔψυχοι· ἐν εὐ[σ]υχόρεων· Λαθῆραις·
Μάμηρις· Ορύματος, δὲ μηῆρις τοῦτο τοῖς τελοῖς·
καὶ μὰ Διὸς εἰς οἶκον | ἐμαντόδαμενος ἄλογομορ. |
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· Λαπίθαρες.

Wilhelm considers that Mammes, son of Orumas, belonged to a Phrygian colony in Attica; Thucydides ii. 22, says that a cavalry skirmish occurred ἐν Φρυγίᾳ 431 B.C. I cannot believe that a colony of Phrygians existed in the heart of Attica. Slaves often bore the name of a king or god of their own land, e.g. Phrygians were Manes, Midas, Davos, etc. Mammes is 'noblest of the Phrygians in Athens,' a joke about his name as god and priest-king of his native land (No. VI.). He is not called a slave, but the circumstances prove this. The humble and toilsome occupation of a woodchopper was suited for slaves:⁶⁰ in Turkey at the present day the woodcutters all belong to a despised and poverty-stricken sect, who have the outward appearance of Islam, but are regarded with horror by the Moslems as heretics. In the well-known inscription of Xanthos, the Lycean, at Sounion,⁶¹ no one would have thought that Xanthos was a slave if he had not referred to Chians Trebins; but for this he would have been taken as an immigrant priest of a foreign worship, and the length and importance of the ritual document which he inscribed in two copies would have been regarded as complete proof that it did not originate from a slave. Similarly Mammes of Oruma claims to be an outstanding personality among the Phrygians in Athens. Wilhelm recognises in Orumas a patronymic and at the same time he quotes Kretschmer, *Kreuleitung*, pp. 183 and 237, in respect of the correspondence between personal and place names. In truth it is a local epithet which becomes a personal name: Mammes of Oruma is Manes of Ouranumma (as in No. VI.) On the spelling Mammes or Mamis see No. VIII and note 54.

⁵⁷ See *Journ. H. Asiat.* Soc. 1881, p. 29; the river Akhelles is identified with Akhiles; the personal idea of divine 'genius' or protecting spirit is everywhere.

⁵⁸ E.g. he assigns Sagalassos to Lydia, district beside Nestykos.

⁵⁹ A. Wilhelm, *Beitr.*, 2. gr. Inschriften

1880, p. 36-7. He remarks; 'In "Ophane" wird ein Patronymikon zu erkennen sein, entsprechend Ouranumma erwähnt Kretschmer. Einzelsatz, S. 193, 237.'

⁶⁰ The Achaeans charcoal burners certainly possessed slaves.

⁶¹ Farnell, *Athen.*, *Hellen.* p. 212.

There are some features in the inscription which show the Anatolian type. The variation between the first and the third personal form is frequent in Phrygian epitaphs.²² Again, Manes calls himself the best *wedderter* he has ever seen. Similarly in an inscription of Balbona (as Wilhelm mentions) a dead man is described as the best of gardeners (*ἀριστος κηπουρος*, Heberdey-Kalinka, *Bericht in Denkschriften Akad. Wiss.*, XLV, Part I, p. 41, No. 59). Further, the epitaph of Manes is expressed in a quaint approximation to metrical form, which is characteristic of Phrygian epitaphs. While some are formally expressed as hexameters, or occasionally iambics, with scansion of varying degrees of fidelity, others can hardly be made into separate verses, and yet there is a distinct metrical tone in them.²³ This epitaph would serve as a quite fair specimen of the Phrygian semi-metrical type; after two pseudo-hexameters the rest trails off into prose.

The inscription is certainly joenlir, and perhaps not really an epitaph. It is to be compared with the inscription of Isaura Nova published by Calder in *C.R.* 1909, p. 81, a joke inscribed on a scrap of stone by a wedding guest. The way in which Manes died was perhaps a drinking-bout. μὴ Δ/a is quite out of place in an epitaph. Αθίνας is on the stone:

VIII.—*B.C.H.* vii, p. 315 (at Komis; Ramsay) now gathers fuller meaning:

Μωσῆς· διά(κονος), νιός Νεσιος Πεντέλιου πρεσβ. Ἰσαυρονπόλεος,
εὐχάριστος ὅπερ ἐμπού [κα] τοῦ οἰκου αὐτοῦ, ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὸν κιδὼν εἰς
τὸν "Δύτον" Μάρτιν. M.

This was the fortieth column, M, in the church, dedicated according to a vow (which God had granted) to St. Manes by Moses a deacon, doubtless of Iconium. His father Nesios was a presbyter of Isantropolis, i.e. Isaura Nova (Doris), subject to Iconium metropolis from 372 onwards (see note 107).

The St. Manes who is mentioned here was apparently the patron of a church from which the column bearing this inscription was brought in the construction of the Mosque of Ala-al-din.²⁴ The date is probably comparatively early, c. 400 A.D., as the inscription has not the fully-formed Byzantine character.²⁵ The old Anatolian divine name Manes is to be regarded as a byform (native) of Moses (cp. No. VII.), and both as the original from which the Greek name of the god Men was formed. The intention was to impart Greek form and meaning to an Anatolian name, and when the Greek-speaking church invented the Christianised form of the native god as Monas, the local belief in Lycoria still clung to the Anatolian form Manes (see

²² In the epitaph of St. Aberkios (Avramus Marcellus) the variation has provoked some strange speculations among commentators who did not know the Phrygian question.

²³ This characteristic suggests a certain musical turn in the Phrygian mind, and mythology fully confirms that impression.

²⁴ The Greeks say that this Mosque was a Christian church originally, but this is not

true. It was built as a Mosque.

²⁵ The use of the Roman praenomina, Publius by the father (whose name is not stated), and the name by the son of Latin nomenclature, point to the period towards 400: the son is presumably a mature man, and the father dead. The expression shows the fourth century stage of development towards definitely Byzantine forms.

No. VII.), and spoke of the saint by the familiar name, which the people had been accustomed to apply to the god. This saint is Menas; as described in Nos. VI.-IX.

That the first syllable of Menes is long was seen by Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, xxiv, p. 222), who takes it as originating from *Menes* (first Lydian king, son of Zeus and Ge; Dionys. Hal. I. 27; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 360 n., says that Menes or Mases was an old Phrygian king; *Menes* was also a river name). The length is confirmed by the spelling *Mannis* or *Mannes* here and in No. VII.

The legends of St. Menas, which are too long to relate, connect him with Cappadocia and Eastern Anatolia.⁵⁶ This connexion may throw doubt on his connexion with the pagan god in the estimation of those who follow Roscher's Lexicon. Drexler refuses there to admit that any cult of Men existed in Cappadocia. Now the worship of Men is proved in other parts of Anatolia almost exclusively from inscriptions and coins, but in Cappadocia inscriptions are rare,⁵⁷ and coins were struck only at Caessarea (with very few at Tyana and Kylistra); there were in the country only three cities, no question, and rarely any suitable stone for inscriptions. The literary evidence for the worship of Men in different parts of Anatolia is very slight, but it is quite as abundant for Eastern Anatolia as for Phrygia and Pisidia; yet it is set aside by Drexler as insufficient, because he is influenced by a false idea about the nature of Men. The sole indication that Men was worshipped in Lycia is found, not in literature, nor in any monument of that country, but in an inscription at Sounion in Attica, made by a Lycian slave who set up a cult of his native god Men and stated the regulations for it at great length.

IX. *C.I.G.* 4000: instead of the text there published I give on pp. 154 f. Kaibel's in *Ep. Gr. ex lipp. coll.* 400, and a photograph of Lucas's page (which I owe to Mr. Buckler). The inscription is highly important, if my interpretation, which rests largely on considerations connected with the geographical and religious surroundings of Iconium, is correct. The name Galateia, on which I built, is regarded by Kaibel as beyond doubt, and we all accept it. The festival of Men was read in 3 by Buckler before he heard of my interpretation, which stands even without it so long as Galateia remains. I accept his reading making an addition (which is unchanged Lucas), but some prefer at this point the simple alterations of Kaibel. This text exemplifies the extreme limit permissible in altering a copy, and is correspondingly uncertain; but *C.I.G.* and Kaibel change the copy more and attain results remote from each other and from us.

⁵⁶ Even on Italian St. Menas at Bari has some slight Anatolian relation. There are three forms of this saint.

⁵⁷ The number known in the *Vlakou tituli* *As. Men* was 520 (see Grotius, *Vardarissium*,

exped. 1911, p. 122); a considerably larger from *C.I.G.* (invo) and *C.I.L.* (ninety six), but there are far more in the towns of Lycianus alone.

Lucas separates the words from one another by spaces, and his ill-success is a measure of his scanty knowledge of Greek. The first word he makes *Διδηπειας* instead of *Διδηπειατον*. The spaces between the words may therefore be disregarded, as showing merely his personal fancy.

I quote from Kaibel's notes: 2 agitur de publicis Zoticis numeribus et meritis, cum Palatine mentio dubia non videatur. 3 aedificium aliquod dilapsum underibus egestis restituisse videtur. 4 Fortasse tu reverendiss.

It is doubtless on account of the want of suitable type that Lucas employs the small forms ε and ο instead of Ε and Ω (see C.I.G.). I reconstruct hypothetically the epigraphic text, using common late forms of those letters. Further, it was characteristic of the inscriptions of the fourth century, to which this text belongs, that inconsistent forms of Greek letters were employed in the same inscription; generally the round epsilon, sometimes the square form, was used, and similarly varying forms of omega, sigma, etc. Examples may be found in the inscriptions of Antioch published by Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 286f.

The copy is not excellent, but creditable in the circumstances. It is worst towards the end, when Lucas grew tired of copying this hard and long text. Besides the variation of form in the letters, some ligatures of unusual shape were employed, which puzzled Lucas and cause difficulty to the modern interpreter. We follow Lucas more closely than older editors do, and the explanation of his errors is often evident from my conjectural epigraphic copy, which should be compared with the epigram from Isaura Nova (see Miss Ramsay's article on Isaurian art).¹⁷ The Iconian stone, however, had probably no ornament but only a plain raised border (like C.I.G. 3964 and many others), for such ornament was an Isaurian feature. The longer verses in those epigrams often encroached on the raised border.

It is necessary first to explain the upright strokes by which Lucas generally marks the end of hexameters. (1) They may have been on the original stone and Lucas may have copied them, omitting to do so several times, and especially at the last. I have once or twice seen such upright marks at the end of hexameters, but the device is rare; and, when we look at the page of Lucas's book, it seems probable that the length of his lines was conditioned by the size of his notebook. In the numerous copies of inscriptions made by Dr. Diamantides (see *Introduction*) he often arranged his copy, not according to the stone, but according to the breadth of his notebook (especially when the lines were long). (2) Inscriptions of late date in hexameter are often arranged so that each verse gets a line on the stone.¹⁸ If that were the case here, there would not be room in Lucas's notebook for such long lines: apparently he intended to mark with an upright stroke in his copy the ends of the lines on the stone. If it is objected that the

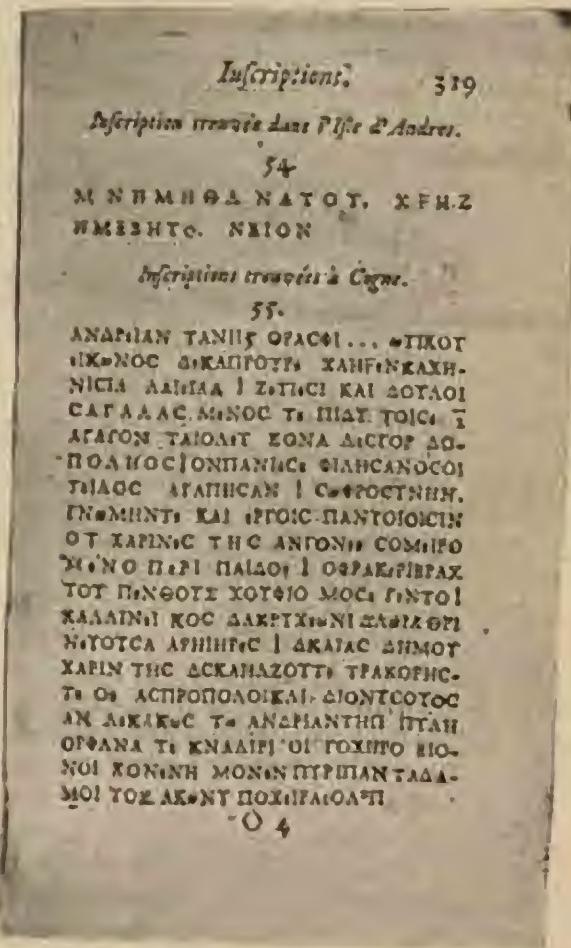
¹⁷ *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47.

¹⁸ Examples (besides many elsewhere): C.I.G. 3943, 3956, c. 3954 (amb), 3973, 3982.

The stone disregards the metre in 3982. The epitaph of Attius Marcellus (C.R.Phr. II, p. 723) gives two lines on the stone to each hexameter; see Stetrett, *E.J.* 182.

explanation is unreasonable, because Lucas did not fully carry out his own plan, the answer is that Lucas was human¹⁰ and that he was Lucas. Whatever theory be adopted, the fact remains that the intention of inserting the upright strokes is not completely carried out. In C.I.G. 3996 the editors remark that Lucas indicates the end of the lines by punctuation marks,

LUCAS'S PAGE ($\frac{1}{2}$ of original)



apparently the marks were placed by himself in his notebook to show the difference between his arrangement and that on the stone.¹¹

¹⁰ Personally, I always find it difficult to carry out completely any such plan; exceptions and exceptions occur, and increase as one proceeds.

¹¹ This inscription is published also in Muraatori in p. index, 6. I have not seen it.

I doubt whether it is a feasible supposition in C.I.G. 4000 that Lucas, to show his learning, inserted marks in his copy indicating the ends of hexameters, for he had not sufficient knowledge of Greek to intend this.

Further, the reduced photograph of Lucas's page should be compared at every point with our conjectural epigraphic copy arranged as on the stone. In it the corrections that former editors have rightly made are dotted to show the true character of the original, and we add a few changes of the same simple type (according to the principles stated in the *Introduction*). Lucas's errors are also dotted.⁷² Many things become simpler when thus brought before the eye. The forms of letters are suited to the late date,⁷³ and they vary in some degree (as already explained), the forms, and the occasional ligatures, often explain Lucas's errors. It will be noticed that the stone was

KAIBEL.

ἀνδρείατ' ἀρ [ε]ισορᾶς, φῖ[λε]. Ζ]ωτικοῦ εἰκὼν
 δε δεκτῆρ[ω]τ[ο]ς ἀπ]ῆ[ρ] ε[τ]α[τρίδι] γῆ Γ]υλα[τ]σίq<λ>
 ζεύ[γ]εσι καὶ δούλωις ἀγαλ[λό]μενος τ' ἐπι [α]γύτοις
 ἔξαγα[ε]ρ πόλης
 5 οὐ πάντ[ε]ς ἐφέλησαν, δοτοι τ[ο]ιο[ου]ς ἀγάπησαν
 σωφροσύνην γνώμην τε καὶ ἔργοις παντοῖσιν.
 οὐ χάριν ἐστησαν γονεῖς ὁ[δ]υ[ρ]μένοις περὶ παιδό[ε].
 οὐφρα κ' ἐρι[ε]λύ[ν]τον πένθοις [ε]χονθι[σ]μάτι ἔμειτο,
 Καλλίνεικος δακρυχέων ίδ[ε] [Λφφ]ίο θρ[η]νείονσα.
 10 ἀρι[τ]ήρες ['Αχ]αιαῖς δημον χάριν τῆς ἐ[ε]κα[μ]ι]ζον
 Τετρακόρη τε [θ]έμες πρόπολοι καὶ Διονύσου
 δε ἀν δὲ κακῶς τῷ ἀνδριντ[ε]ι πινησ[η]
 δρφατα τέκνα λ[τ]οτο, χῆρο[ν] βλο[ν], οἰκο[ρ]ε[ρ]ημον
 ἢ πυρὶ πάντα δάμοιτο, κακῶν ὑπὸ χείρας ὅλο[ι]το

injured at both right-hand corners,⁷⁴ and at several places there must have been slight injuries to the surface, such is almost always the case if the stone is large. Square brackets indicate those places in which letters are lost. In two cases, 1 and 4, loss is indicated by Lucas himself; in others the additions are conjectural. In 13 N was omitted either through haste or because the stone was injured.⁷⁵ I number the verses according to the true text of the stone.

⁷² The presence of dots, therefore, is a signal calling attention.

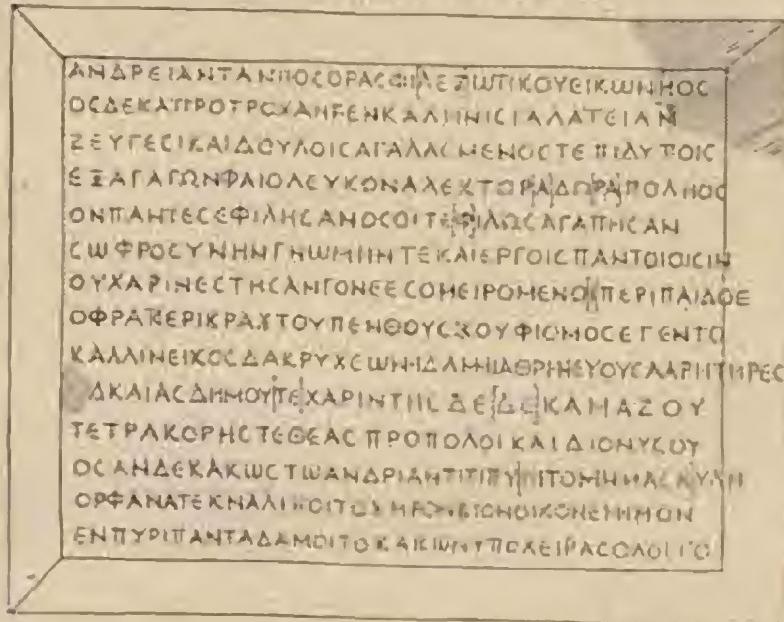
⁷³ In some cases late forms are probable; I follow the common shape of letters except where there was a clear reason.

⁷⁴ The break at the right lower corner is accidentally omitted in the zincotype.

⁷⁵ This omission is certain. Lucas became careless at the end, and errors are more numerous there (see *Introduction*).

The style of this epigram, with the use of strange and rather inconsistent epithets of the goddess, remote from the simpler language of the earlier and middle Empire, confirms the late dating. We notice also that, while the inscription mentions the religion of the city, it never refers to the worship of the Emperors. This omission relegates it either to a quite early period, when the worship of the Emperors had not yet fully established itself in Iconium, or to a very late date, when the Empire in its last struggle against the Christians was trusting to the revivification of the old pagan worship, and allowing the Imperial religion to fall out of notice. During the long intermediate period the Imperial policy relied on the Imperial religion as a unifying and strengthening influence, and the cities paid the greatest attention to the maintenance of this worship and enthroned the reigning emperor (with or without his predecessors) alongside of the national or

HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION



municipal cult. It is, however, impossible to assign this inscription to a very early period before the worship of the Emperors was enthroned in Iconium. There was a high priest of Tiberius in Iconium (see p. 126), and already in the time of Augustus the Imperial religion was probably established there. The inscription has nothing to justify the theory of a date so early. Everything confirms the opinion that it belongs to the fourth century, when many similar inscriptions were engraved showing how various priestly families, in conjunction with the magistrates, attempted to restore the old religion in Lycania and Phrygia, which were already in large degree Christian. The history of one such priestly family belonging to the period 250–310 has been

traced in Central Phrygia.⁷⁵ The attempt was made to exhibit the old religion as the patron of literature and true morality in opposition to Christianity, and as able to do better than the new faith everything needed by religious feeling. The period, then, to which this inscription belongs is the age when imperial policy was encouraging and supporting the adherents of the old faith against the new, but not hunting down 'the Name' with soldiers.

For a time I thought of the period of Maximin, comparing such inscriptions as *C.B.Phr.* No. 467, dated 313-4 A.D., but in preparing the conjectural epigraphic copy I found that Lucas's errors imply a later date, viz. the time of Julian. On this theory the epigram explains itself completely. It commemorates the revival of an old rite in a Christian city, and it is steeped in the ideas of the fourth century.

SUGGESTED TEXT.

'Αιδριάντας π[ρο]πορᾶς,⁷⁶ φίλε, Ζευτικοῦ Λίκαιοῦ ιησού
δε δὲ καὶ ἱρότροχα ἡγεμονὸν τοῦ Παλαιζελαρ
ζεύγεσι καὶ δουλοῖς Ἀγαλας Μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ λύτροις
ἔξαραγὸν φαιόλενευορ αἰλέστορ[α], δημ[ρα] πόλησ.
5 οὐ πάντες ἀφίλεγαν δοσοι τε [φ]ιλοντούσι πάπησιν
σωφροσύνη γνώμην τε καὶ ἔργοις παττούσιν
οὐ χείρεν ἔστησαν γονεῖς ὄμειρόμενοι περὶ παιδῶν.
οὐφρι τεριγραντον πένθοντες κανφερμον ἔγετη
Καλλινεκος δακρυχέων οὖδε Ἀιμια θρηνενουσα.
10 ἀρητῆρεν Ἀχαιας δῆμον χάριν, τῆς δεκαμηνου
τετραεόρη τε θεᾶς πρόπολος καὶ Διονύσου,
δε ἀν δὲ εακῶν τῷ ἀγδριάντι συμβογή, η τό μοῆμα σχ]ύλη, κτλ.

Kallinikos, the author of this epigram, had some Greek education, but his reading lay in religious hymns rather than epic poetry.⁷⁷ His work stands on a higher level than the ordinary sepulchral epigrams of Lycœnia. He had, however, no knowledge of metre, and none of his lines scan tightly.

⁷⁵ Ramsay, *O.B.Phr.* ii. p. 500; *Revue des Unes de Mid.*, 1901, p. 273; 1903, p. 209; *Pauline and other Studies in Hist.* pp. 100-112.

⁷⁶ O would be better in brackets on the conjectural copy. It was put by Lucas in the correction in his note-book and afterwards

misunderstood. A common late form of Ω is acceptably like Ο, and was mistaken by Lucas. In the sim. I have not made GN. in 3 right. It should be J-N.

⁷⁷ One Homeric reminiscence is traditional, not original - see p. 155.

He was acquainted with the common Central Anatolian models for metrical funeral epigrams. 1 is a free variation of a common introduction to epitaphs. 2-4 are an individual and original touch illustrating the life of the deceased. 5-8 recur to the usual Lycaonian and Phrygian type, but alter it freely. 9 attempts in the most halting fashion to introduce the unhappy parents, but (as usual in such epigrams) the proper names break the metre. 10 and 11 are again an individual piece of work attempting to describe the office of the parents and the character of the goddess with lamentable metrical results. The last three verses repeat a form of imprecation against the violator of the tomb, which is frequently used in Phrygia with varying protasis but identical apodosis.²⁷ It is probably a rude rendering in Greek of an old Phrygian formula, but none of the Phrygian formulae which have been as yet found correspond exactly to it. The rendering was made, perhaps in the second century, by some person whose knowledge of Greek was defective, and it passed into general use. The metre would be improved by using the active Λύτοι instead of the incorrect middle form Λύτοτο.²⁸ The translator of the supposed Phrygian original seems to have understood δαπότρο as passive: all the property of the violator is to be destroyed in fire. At the end the dative χειρίς would be an improvement on the accusative χειρας. The Phrygian poet had a vague recollection of the Homeric οὐδὲ γέροι δαψισται, but uses it badly.

This epigram should be contrasted with the Akmenian document C.R.Phr. II No. 467, as an expression of the pagan revival, engineered by priestly families in alliance with the Imperial administration; its tone differs, as it is exactly fifty years later.

1. Three symbols require correction. II followed by a complex symbol which does not occur elsewhere in the inscription. My view is that II represents a ligature of ΠΡ blurred on the stone. ΟΕΟ following was copied ΕΟ and corrected by Lucas in his notebook, but in preparing for publication he misunderstood his correction: I have known such happenings. The word was ποσοφᾶς, and the epitaph opens 'You look upon the statue of Zoticos at Iconium.'²⁹ It is of course easy to suggest ισοφᾶς and to omit νος at the end; but this does not explain the complex symbol and supposes that Lucas wrote II where he should have written I. Now Lucas sometimes omits a symbol, but he does not insert one without warrant. EI is scanned as the spiritus Y. At first I thought of

ἀρρενίττα [δ]υ [ε]κτοφύ]γε, φίλε, Ζωτικοῦ εἰών

statuam quam vises Zoticī image εἴη on the analogy of urbem quam statua vestra εἴη, and other forms of the verse have been suggested; but

²⁷ Iconium was a Phrygian city. Xen. Anab. i. 2. See my *Bearing of Discovery on N.T.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁸ On the fondness of Phrygians for the middle instead optat. in preference to the active, see my paper in *Philologus*, N.F. 1, p. 765; C.R.Phr. II, p. 652.

²⁹ Buckler compares the epitaph Αλεξάνδρος Εὐπολεστος Αθηναίος τούτου εἰών. Εἰών and Εἰώνιος both occur, the latter being late. Εἰώνιος with ει used for ο (as often) is not allowable, as a short ει below the standard of this inscription.

Buckler's suggestion Εἰσο[ψε]ις is convincing, and it is supported by προσ-
όψης, explaining the corruption in the middle of the verse. The corner
of the stone and the ends of 1 and 2 were broken.

2. I substitute II for Lucas's Π, and (with C.I.G.) Ο for Lucas's Ε
(whence Knobel substituted Ω too violently), also Σ for his Φ (where C.I.G.
Knobel read Ρ), and we all accept Knobel's [P]αλά[τ]εια[ν] in which the
right stroke of Ν has been broken off, leaving Λ in Lucas's copy.⁵³ δε δὲ
καὶ ' (who was an) Iceman and who was . . .' καὶ is often used with little
or no force (as τίν καὶ for σύν) in Anatolian texts. No one likes δέ δέκα,
and καὶ is an easier correction of the copy.

3. The first correction Ε is accepted by all. Lucas did not understand
the ligature ΗΝ,⁵⁴ and wrote ΕΝ. In the last word editors correct Δ to Α.
I prefer Α (Buckler), i.e. Λύτραι, supposing ligature of ΤΡ, which was mis-
understood by Lucas. The dative ζεύτος ε.τ.λ. is loosely appended. Λύτρα
was a rite in honour of Men (see below).

The rite adjective here employed is found in the Orphic Hymn *Rhea* 2:
λεπτροχα ἄρματα. It is characteristic of the period, the style, and the
literary knowledge of the author that he agrees with the *Orphico* in this
word. The noun which is expressed in *Orphico*, can readily be under-
stood here.

While Knobel's text (which suggests itself at first sight)⁵⁵ involves only
simple alterations of the copy all of the permissible class, I print Buckler's
conjecture, which keeps closer to the copy⁵⁶ and to it add that 'Αγαλας is
correctly read by Lucas. The festival is celebrated to Agala and Men;
Agala is the local goddess, who appears in a grecised form as the Nymph
Galateia.⁵⁷

4. The change of Ο to Ε is made by previous editors. The first letter
of the second word in Lucas's copy is Τ which Buckler corrects to Φ. In
this inscription probably Φ had a shape which was easily confused with Τ.
φαιδενεος does not occur elsewhere, but this can hardly be regarded as an
insuperable objection, because λευκόφαιος is found frequently. Professor
Souter quotes it from a Hittish papyrus 246 n.c., Athenaeus, p. 78A; Pollux,
vii. 129, also in Latin letters, Vitruvius viii 3, 14, and Plin. *H.N.* xxxii. 10, 114;
Martial i. 96, 5, has λευκόφαῖτες. For Ζ it is easy to substitute Κ. The
confusion between Κ and ΙΚ is frequent in these late inscriptions, and I have
seen many cases where we could attain certainty only by consideration of
the context. The substitution of Τ for Σ is made in C.I.G., as also the

⁵³ Knobel has Γαλατεια : C.I.G. γαλατεῖα.

⁵⁴ The ligature is badly drawn on the in-
jectural copy.

⁵⁵ Those who prefer this reading will find that
it makes no alteration in the interpretation
stated below except that a little has to be
omitted regarding Agala.

⁵⁶ Buckler's conjecture is really close,
though it has a superficial appearance of

being more remote from Lucas.

⁵⁷ The personal names Galatas (male) and
Galatela or Galatela (fem.) occur in the valley
of Apollonia (see Sterrett, *W.R.* 300 and 389),
but these may originate in the long connexion
of Apollonia with the province Galatia. This
point must be left doubtful. The personal
name Tagala (male) occurs at Madae, six
hours north of Konia.

insertion of Λ before Δ.²⁰ Lucas indicates a gap after Ο. δο[ρα] with Ο for omega (as is common in Lycaonian inscriptions) must be rejected; on the stone Ω was sometimes written, not ω, and misread as Ο by Lucas. Kaibel ventures on no restoration of this line.

5. Buckler restores δοοι τ ε[δ]οοε: Anderson's ε[δ]οοε[ν] is also tempting, but makes a bolder alteration. My own belief, however, is that the letter φ is omitted, and that Lucas's copy needs the alteration of Ο to Ω. The repetition of φλωε after εφιδηστα was regarded by this poet as a beauty, not a fault; similarly he uses εχαγαγωε after φγεε. In Buckler's text and my own, δοοι τε is understood in the ordinary usage as equivalent to δοοι simply.

6. Another example of the loose dative at the end (cp. 3): interpret, 'his moral and intellectual power (which were seen) in every kind of occupation - εαλ is almost devoid of force (as in 2).

7. The insertion of Ι before Π and the correction to Τ at the end are obvious. οὐ χάριν means 'of whom a beautiful memorial.' Probably Kallinikos was here imitating a line of a model, like παῖδες ὄμηρόπεροι πέρι πατρός, or even οὐ τε χάριν τίπε (Ζεῦς!) ὄμηρόπεροι πέρι πατρός, but in adapting it to his purpose he ruined the metre. πέρι goes with the verb, 'greatly desiring their son' (Anderson). It is remarkable that Frame and Kaibel have missed the most interesting verbal feature in this inscription, viz., the rare verb ὄμηρομαι which is used in I. Thess. n. 8 (the only example in the New Testament). Hesychios has the gloss ὄμηρομαι επιθυμοῦσσι.

8. Probably *belo* was of a form easily confused with *kappa*. Perhaps read [π]ερι[ε]χα[ε]τον, which Plutarch's expression περιελαύν το σώμα (Brut. 44) may justify; the use of Ρ in place of Α is frequent in Phrygian Greek, especially in proper names, but occasionally even in ordinary Greek words. As Anderson remarks, δφρα . . . εγέρτα proves that δφρα τε was not used. The parents mourned until alleviation of sorrow was produced, and he suggests [π]εριβρ[ε]χετον 'engulfing' a tempting conjecture.

9. The accepted correction of the mother's name is Aphia, but probably the true correction is Αμυά, with double Μ in ligature, and Lucas mistook this strange form as ω. Anderson independently restored Αμιά. For the ligature ΙΝ Lucas reads ΙΝ, which can hardly be accepted as the spelling of the inscription is good.

9-10 Reluctantly I differ from my conditors, and regard the mark at the end of 9 in Lucas's copy as correct. He might omit the mark of division, but he would not insert it wrongly, as the lines were clear before him on the stone. The meaning is 'Kallinikos and Aminta priests.' Hera, as always, proper names wreck the metre; and adjectives or participles are added, not to help the metre, but to emphasise the sorrow of the survivors. The line therefore mentions 'the sorrowful father and the mourning mother, priests.' In any case nothing can restore metrical character to 9 and 10;

²⁰ Anderson suggests διλοργοε[ν]. But διλοργοε[ν] is the reading of the *Orphica*, not literary Greek.

Kallimkos could not be brought into the metre; probably the composer felt it as a dactyl and added the stock epithet describing his weeping. Then follows the name of the mother, and the intention apparently was to end the line with the description of their position as official priests; but in the ardour of composition the poet interpolated a participle describing the mother's vehement Oriental mourning. The word in 9 indicating their priesthood is chosen to indicate their relation to the city—they pray on behalf of the Demos and a local Iconian genius whose name is concealed in the impossible form ΔΚΑΙΑC. To my view there is the objection that it makes 9 too long²² and 10 too short, and my zincotype (p. 166) employs violent means in 10, supposing that Lucas omitted two words. I now regard δῆμος χάριν as epexegetic of οὐ χάριν in 9 (with a long, as in Ἀπειρόπειρος); then τε need not be inserted: the deceased is thus merged in the guardian genius of the Iconian demos (compare the Hero Pergamor in *J.H.S.* 1884 p. 262).

In the face of such a strong consensus of opinion against me, I abandon for the time my correction and interpretation of this name, until some corroborating evidence is discovered which will justify the most interesting part of the whole epigram, and illuminate further the local mythology of Iconium, and I shift (with all editors, but wrongly) ἀποτίθησε²³ from 9 to 10. In 10 C.I.G. reads [ΑΧ]αῖας: Wilmannitz mentioned by Kaib, who hesitates to follow him, Maia: Anderson Απαλας. The correction in C.I.G. is possible according to the principles which we have laid down; but the second and third are excluded. [ΑΧ]αῖας also is not allowable, for Askia belongs to Antioch and cannot be transferred to Iconium. It is necessary not merely to find a correction of the copy which is possible on critical grounds, but also one which rests on reasonable connexion with the known or probable facts of Iconian antiquities and religion and history. In this respect Achaea fails²⁴ and could be justified only through the known feature of the pagan revival that religious facts from various nations and cults were introduced into a sort of syncretistic religion gathered round the local worship in each city or province. The Attic Achaea would be adopted in Lycania rather than an antiquarian fact like the Trozenian Amara. My own view is preserved.

12. The easiest alteration of Lucas's copy at the end is to change his Η to ΙΕ, Π to ΙΤ and Υ to Χ, but κακὸς ἐτίτυχη (w. dat.) in the sense of injuring even by chance is hardly allowable. The error lies deeper. It is impossible that the curse should omit the idea of injury to the grave and mention only the statue. Either the end of the line was defaced, or Lucas who certainly made more errors here than in the early lines, being tired of

²² I understand that 9 contained on the border of the engraved panel (see above).

²³ C.I.G. substitutes εποιήσεις for οὐ τίθησε.

²⁴ According to Hoepfner the Lycian name called Αχαιοί Αχαιας with Soudas and Sohal.

on At. Ica. 500 he explains Αχαιος as an Attic epithet of the mounting Demeter (deification, probably false, from Αχειος or Αχει). So at Almoneum, in the territory of Delos, the Attic-figure Demeter comes (Starrett, *W.R.* No. 49, revised).

this long and hard text) omitted part accidentally. I suppose the latter. C.B. *Phr.* 332 has in protasis οὐδὲν. On 13-14 see *Introduction* p. 126.

The interpretation of this epigram is assured up to a certain point, being independent of the varying conjectures, and imposed by the general situation and purport. This was the epitaph engraved on the tomb of their son Zetikos by Kallinikos and Amnis, priest and priestess of a local cult closely connected with the fate of Iconium (*θύμος χάρης*). The son Zetikos being hereditarily connected with the cult, fulfilled certain duties subordinate to those of his parents in the ritual; the great Anatolian priesthoods were hereditary (*τεπεῖς τε λεπέας οὐδὲ γένεσις*).²⁴ The generally recognised goddess of the Iconian municipal religion was the Zizimene Mother, who had her seat at Zizyma or Zizima (modern Sizma), five hours north of Iconium, but it is clear that the cult mentioned in this inscription by near the city, a sacred place in the immediate neighbourhood of Iconium was the centre of the ritual here described. The names and the religious ritual are of the Anatolian type. Galateia is a local nymph, really a local variety of the Oreadian Mountain-Mother, whose chief home was at Zizima but who was manifested in other places near Iconium. According to the permanent association of religious awe with definite sites in Anatolia I assume that the main centres of divine influence which are now recognised in the neighbourhood of Iconium were recognised in ancient times and are immemorial seats of religious ritual.²⁵ The most important of these are connected with the mountain which overhangs Iconium, or rather the pair of mountains, called by the Greeks after St. Philip and St. John.²⁶ These twin peaks, strikingly like in shape and very similar in every respect, lie N.W. from Iconium, and are the extreme outlying peaks of the Oreadian mountains. They are visible on the central plains from a great distance, a landmark to guide the traveller to Iconium; and St. Philip (Takali) the nearest of them, bears a great fortress which constitutes it the saviour and guardian of the city. On the outer flanks of this nearer peak there are three glens of impressive character. The most northern is that in which lies the village of Tsille, which is full of churches and sites of Christian and even Turkish sanctity, the continuity of religion at Tsille is indubitable. The village is partly Turkish, but mainly Greek. South of Tsille is a narrower glen in which is situated the monastery of St. Chariton (on which more will be said below). The third glen is further south and, as I believe, no religious foundation exists in it.

The name of the guardian mountain of Iconium, Takali,²⁷ was caught from the mouths of the population by the Arabs in their invasions of Anatolia

²⁴ Amachines was minister to his mother, the priestess of Cybèle; the case is typical, as described by Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 129 f.

²⁵ No one will dispute the assumption (now a commonplace); see a paper on the subject in *Hellenic and Other Studies* in *Bally*, pp. 167-199.

²⁶ In primitive Anatolian religious imagination they were the divine Balance (skele) in

which the Greek poet saw the fate of gods and heroes weighed, while the Anatolians belles regarded it as the symbol of the fair market in international trade. The Island was soon about Smyrna.

²⁷ It is not pronounced Takali; there is no feeling that it is a Turkish word ending with the suffix -li.

and is preserved by Abu Khurdadhibbi (who fought in the Anatolian wars), in his geographical work dating about 850, as Dakalis, which hardly differs from Takalis and may be even a mere difference of script, implying an original Takala.²² In the second century there grew up a legend among the Christians of Iconium which made a certain Tekla the first convert of St. Paul and a Saint of great power, who followed her master, lived in a tomb at Iconium for a time, and was received into the rock on the side of Mt. Takali as it opened to preserve her from the pursuit of her affianced lover.²³ The presbyter who first gave literary form to this legend was, as Tertullian relates, degraded from his office on the ground that he had composed a story which dishonoured the memory of the Apostle Paul. In order to suggest a meaning in Greek Tekla was modified into Thekla, so as to suggest a connexion with the element involved in θεός, and in the process of generalization her mother was called by the more completely Greek name Theokleia; we have here progressive adaptation of a native name to the Greek spoken by the Christians of Iconium.

The Byzantine name of this guardian mountain was Kabala, which is preserved to the present day in a district Gavels between the twin peaks of St. Philip and St. John. It may appear remarkable that there are several names, mostly preserved to the present day, for the sacred mountain and its neighbourhood; but it is full of varying features, with deep gorges, cultivated lands and two lofty peaks.²⁴ That there should be a number of names, and that sanctity should attach to many spots, is only natural. Miss Bell has an illuminative remark in her book *The Desert and the Sown*: in the desert almost every stone that offers any feature on the surface has its own individual name. The abundance of ancient names for localities around Takali would be multiplied by ten, if we had fuller information. Kabala is probably akin (1) to Κύβελα (όημ Φρ. καὶ ἀντρα καὶ βάλαιοι Ηεγεῖ), (2) to the Semitic word *gebel*, mountain. The Phrygian conquerors of Iconium found that St. Philip Mt. was called *gebel* and *takal*: the names have lasted through history.

The rite in which Zoticos took part is described in 2-3: 'the two-horned cars and slaves' formed a procession²⁵ in the ritual of the goddess, perhaps the last ever performed in the dying cult. The son of the priestly pair officiated in this procession (πρότροχος ἡγέτης ε.τ.λ., he drove cars with sacred-wheels to fair Galateia), in which a cock, the sacred bird of Men, was carried. This gift on behalf of the city expressed the participation of the State in the ceremony (δῶμα τοῦδε).

Zoticos led the procession to fair Galateia. At first one thinks of the country Galatia, but previous to A.D. 205, while Iconium was part of the province Galatia, it would be meaningless and absurd to say that a procession

²² The personal name Dagalis (Dagali) occurs at Melitas, six hours south of Iconium.

²³ The place is still shown above Table: no mark or nothing was pointed out.

²⁴ They are about 5,000 feet. Koskin 2,320.

²⁵ The reading οὐτρός is accepted by all editors. I tried vainly the other possible interpretation that the word referred to working land by pairs of men yoked to ploughs and driven by slaves, reconstituting οὐτρός in 2.

went forth from Iconium to Galatia, and Kaibel, observing this indisputable fact, boldly corrects the text to *ἐπὶ [πα]στρίδι γῆ Γαλατίᾳ*, in which he himself professes no confidence and the violence of which sufficiently condemns it.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, after A.D. 285, Galatia was far distant from Iconium, the nearest point being eighteen or twenty hours' journey, and a procession to a point so distant and into a different province unconnected by racial affinity is equally absurd.¹⁰² Moreover, the name Galatia is never, so far as I am aware, applied to the country Galatia. This interpretation can hardly be maintained on serious thought.

The solution of the difficulty lies in a passage indicated to me by Rev. J. M. Prendergast, Oxford, and used many years ago in my article in *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 32. St. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialog.* iv. 38, says, 'Et si iam nunc apud nos Athanasius *Iconiacus presbyter qui in diebus eius Iconii* reu terribilem nascet evenerit. Ibi autem et nis quoddam monasterium τὸν Γαλατῶν dicitur, in quo quidam monachus magnas distinctiones habebatur.' ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο οὐκ πρεσβύτερος τοις ὄνταις 'Athanasios ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας Δυκανίας' γερόνερος πάλεψε δὲ τοῦ 'Iconiou'. οὗτος πρόγρα φοβερὸς ἱερος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γερονέας ὀνυχίστο, οὗτος λέγεται δὲ ποναστήριον πινόθι ὑπέρηχε τὸν Γαλατῶν λεγόμενον. The Greek (as Mr. Prendergast says on the authority of Dr. Bright) is a translation made about a century later from the Latin original. Athanasios is described in *Ep.* vi. 66, p. 842 (Migne, iii. 850) as 'presbyteri monasterii Sancti Mileni et monachorum Tamnacarum' quod in Lycianum est provinciam constitutum.

There was therefore a monastery called 'of the Galatæ' at Iconium at an early period in monastic history. Gregory was writing about A.D. 600, and there is no reason to think that the monastery was new then. Formerly I was disposed to think that the ancient connexion between Iconium and the province Galatia had led to a settlement of Galatians in a monastery at Iconium, but on consideration this idea had to be abandoned. There could be no monastery older than 285. After that date all connexion between the city and Galatia ceased, and the connexion, having been previously only a political one and never founded on any religious feeling (except the cult of the Emperors), did not persist. The monastery 'of the Galatæ' must therefore be explained differently, and the reference to Galatia in this inscription supplies the explanation. We possess only

¹⁰¹ He pointedly had in mind vaguely the well-known inscription of Apollonia (393 in his collection, C.I.O. 3973; Lobe 1192), where the allusion to the Tropæum and the Galatians implies that Apollonia was in their territory (though as a matter of fact Kaibel wrongly follows Wallingius and C.I.O. in supposing that during famine the erection of the dedication box from Apollonia to Celtic Galatia) Kaibel also neglects A at the end. Lobe did not add letters, though he sometimes

¹⁰² According to Inbos, *Kleinasie, Möschee*, p. 110, the connexion of Iconium with Galatia ceased before the middle of the second century, for he thinks it was a city of the Kardia Asandos, in the triple province Cilicia-Lycia-Limnia. This, however, is not correct. Iconium was not in the Kardia, but remained in provinces Lycia and 291-293.

¹⁰³ The translator alters Isidorus of the Latins.

¹⁰⁴ These names are certainly corrupt. See later, p. 168.

Gregory's reference, which perhaps he had not caught quite correctly:¹⁰¹ Athanasios probably spoke of the monastery of Galatai, and Gregory calls it 'the monastery of the Galatai', or the name 'of the Galatai' may have become popular for the monastery in some fashion which we need not attempt to speculate about. It is highly probable that this monastery close to Iconium still exists; the supposition that it was situated at Tsille may be set aside as less probable; there remains that deep glen in the outer edge of the Oronian mountains, close under the peak of St Philip, about four or five miles W.N.W. from Iconium, in which a monastery of St. Chariton is regarded with veneration not merely by the Greeks of Iconium and Tsille, but also by the Turks. Although the monastery now has no monks, there is a lay guardian (Bekji) who is paid by the Greeks to live at the buildings and look after them. The church inside the monastery is cut out of the rock, and there are shrines of the Virgin and St. Sabas and St. Amphilocheios. There is also a small mosque; and the Tekelebi-Essenli, the head of the Meylevi Order of Dervishes (whose seat is at Iconium), makes an annual donation of olive oil to the establishment. The place is holy to the Mohammedans as well as to the Christians; so it is an ancient pre-Christian religious spot. Two festivals are celebrated by the Greeks at this monastery: one on 28th September, the day of St. Chariton, the other, by far the more important, on 15th May, lasts for three or four or even five days, during which time the worshippers live at the monastery.

This locality is the seat of the Galatai at Iconium, and the local Nymph is the fair Galateia of the epitaph. It is a place of immemorial sanctity, connected both with the city and with the sacred mountain that guards the city. A legend explains why the Turks respect this sanctuary. The son either of a Sultan of Iconium, or of an old Tekelebi, or even of the founder of the Order, Djelal-ed-Din, riding among the hills, fell over a perpendicular precipice on the N. side of the glen against which the monastery is built, but was preserved alive, being caught as he fell, some say by the Virgin herself and others say by St. Chariton.¹⁰² The idea is embodied in this legend that the son of the priest was under the special protection of the divine power localised here, and we need have no hesitation in assuming that the place in pre-Christian religion was associated with the fortune of the city.

At the monastery of the Galatai there occurred as Athanasios reported, a terrible portent. A monk, who bore a high character in the monastery, being at the point of death, summoned his brother monks, and they expected to hear some gladdening message from the dying man; but he confessed that, when he had been pretending to fast along with

¹⁰¹ It is clear from the various references in Gregory that Athanasios had gone to Rome to clear himself from the accusation of Manichaeism. Gregory heard him, conversed with him about things in Lycaonia, was con-

vinced of his innocence, and wrote to Constantine on his behalf.

¹⁰² There can be no doubt that the old legend refers to the Virgin Mother herself, and not the Saint, who is a later intrusion.

the others, he had been wont to eat secretly; and now he was given over to a dragon to be devoured, which had coiled its tail round his knees and feet and was putting its head into the monk's mouth and drawing the breath from his body. The story turns to Christian edification the old belief in the god-serpent, which the Mystic held close to their body with its head to the face of the worshipper.¹⁰³ This was an act performed in the Mysteries by each devotee and the memory clung to the holy place.

Gregory gives the name of the saint, 'to whom the monastery where Athanasius was monk and presbyter was dedicated' as Miles, an evident corruption of Menas. St. Menas was widely worshipped in the eastern part of the plateau. The evidence for his life and historical existence is of the most dubious character. He bears all the marks of being a mere invention of the fourth or fifth century, giving Christian colour to a pagan cult which had a strong hold on the popular mind: in short, he is merely the god Men in a Christianised form.¹⁰⁴ Menas is not mentioned in the early Martyrologies.

We gather from Gregory that already about 600 A.D. the veneration of St. Menas was firmly established in the Lycaonian church. It is also a matter of interest that Athanasius was accused of being tainted with the Manichaean heresy, but he succeeded in defending himself against this accusation and was confirmed in his position. Later Byzantine historians speak of the prevalence of Manichaeism and other forms of heresy along with Judaic religion in Lycaonia and Phrygia.

St. Chariton was a real personage, but the biographical details which are preserved about him (*Acta Sanctorum*, 28th September, p. 575) are wholly legendary.¹⁰⁵ The only facts that can be trusted are that he was an Icianian and that he founded a famous monastery near Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶ His date is stated under Aurelian about 272 A.D. by most authorities, which is impossible, under Julian 263-5 A.D. by one, which is possible.

Athanasius was intimately acquainted with incidents that occurred in the Galatean monastery at Iconium; and he was apparently a native of the country Isauria, but presbyter at Iconium.¹⁰⁷ That a close and ancient

¹⁰³ Sabatius was a local saint, *Sabato katholopou ton eisai ton tekephous* (Clem. Alex. Protr. ii. p. 76). Men is of the same character.

¹⁰⁴ In the Asia Satorum there are three saints called Menas, two connected with Antioch, and all unhistorical. The surname Tenuatus is obscure, and probably corrupt. The monastery was in the province of Lycaonia (prob. in Lycaonia et proxima Asia), Epist. ad. Mil. p. 842, but in the inscription Amathus is addressed as 'presbyter in Irenae'. In another letter (Epist. ad. A. p. 832) Gregory speaks of

Athanasius as a presbyter of Lycaonia. Yet in *Dioecog.* 17, cap. 38, p. 411, Amathus is a presbyter of Isauria, though the story which he narrates is specifically connected with Iconium.

¹⁰⁵ St. Chariton is not mentioned in the older Martyrologies on 28th September, but in the Hieronymian Martyrology there is a Chariton on 25th July.

¹⁰⁶ St. Sabas, who has a shrine in the Church, was the chief figure in the early monastic system of Palestine. Asaphita was made Bishop of Iconium A.D. 271.

¹⁰⁷ See note 104.

connection between the country Isauria and the city Leonum existed is certain; evidence need not here be recapitulated.

While it is possible that two *magistries* near Leonum (one at Tsalle, and one 'of the Galatai' at St. Chariton) are mentioned, it seems more likely that only one is meant, popularly called 'of the Galatai,' but dedicated to St. Menas Tannacius.¹⁷

The cock was the sacred bird of the god Men, in ordinary circumstances it was a white cock.¹⁸ The colour grey-white was regarded as the hue of mourning, and there seems no difficulty in supposing that at a festival of purification a grey-white cock marked the period of mourning. I would connect this with the Turkish legend of the danger incurred by the son of the priest, who at the point of death is saved by the old pagan goddess or by the Virgin Mother of God.¹⁹ A festival of this kind would naturally begin as a period of mourning and end as a time of rejoicing. The grey-white gift sent from the city by the hand of the son of the priest to the sacred home of the goddess is changed to the white cock, which was the permanent symbol of the god.

There is no proof that a festival called 'Atonement' existed in the ritual of Men, yet it is in accordance with abundant analogy that there should be every spring a purification of the city and a ransoming of it from guilt by a rite. It concerned the fortunes and fate of the city that thus rite should be annually performed, and it was celebrated under Julian with all ceremonial, the procession, the holy ears, the train of worshippers.²⁰ Yet the description rather suggests that the ceremony was confined chiefly to the priestly household, while the population (mainly Christian then) held aloof, though the State character was officially admitted. Perhaps this was the last occasion when the old ceremony was performed in Leonum, and the name 'Atonement' suggests that it was worked up under the late pagan revival to compete with Christian ideas; but the pagan germ is preserved in the Turkish legend.

The 'four-maiden' goddess is the goddess with four personalities, i.e. she is the goddess of the crossroads, who looks along the fair ways. The

¹⁷ Even if it were allowable to alter Isauria in Gregory to Leonis; it would still be impossible to maintain that the monastery of St. Menas was at Isaura Novae in prov. Lycania, and the monasteries 'of the Galatai' at Leonum. Under Justinian and earlier, it is true, Isaura Nova was subject to Leonum; Isaura Palai was metropolis of the large Province Isauria from 293, but in 372 Leonis was shown as its northern bishopric. Salonicæ was made metropolis of the diminished province. Lycania was constituted a province from parts of Plestis and of the old larger Isauria, and Leonum (previously a secondary capital of Plestis, 265-322) became permanently the metropolis of the new province.

Lycania (including Isaura Nova). But the reading Isauris, not Isaura, stands first in Gregory's text, and the connexion of Albianus with Leonum is closely fixed in Gregory's mind. Isaura Palai remained unaltered.

¹⁸ *adversus paganos* is a violent idiom.

¹⁹ As the priestly pair represent the divine pair, Father and Mother, so Zorikos plays the part of the God-Son in the ritual.

²⁰ In this case they are all household servants of the priest; others did not participate. Compare the description of a ritual procession in Ignatius, Ep. 9 (*Letter to the Smyrna Thessians*, pp. 159 f.); the appearance was similar in all small ceremonies.

thought here is similar to that which occurs in a late hymn to the Moon, published in *Hermes*, iv. p. 64:

τούρεκά σε· κλήσουσ' Ελέτας, πολυάντιος, Μήνη,
τετραπτύχωστη θεῖ, τετραιδυμέ, τετραπότι.
*Ἄρτεμι, Περσεφόνη, ἐλαφηβόλε, τυκτιφάνεια,
τρικτίπε, τριψθοτρε, τρικηρατε.

where the goddess is saluted as Hekate, Mēnē, Artemis, Persephone: she has four countenances, as goddess of the four ways which cross and she has three heads in her character of Hekate, presiding at a point where the road forks and three ways meet. The idea of the four-faced goddess was familiar during the early fourth century in Lycania, and occurs in an inscription published by Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1899, No. 237. That this four-maiden goddess also represents the year in its four seasons is natural. She also is the goddess of winter and summer in a double nature, as shown on the Boston half of the Ludovisi 'Throne,' a most instructive monument of 'Ionian' religious thought.¹¹

X. C.I.G. 4908. The restoration is easy. The spelling *ἰστιάλη* with prothetic I is quite frequent and the reference to the Chthonian Men is characteristic of Lycian sepulchral epigraphy. The father Manes bears the native Anatolian form of the name of the god Men, to whose protection he appeals, in dedications the name Men was customary. The order is unusual; it begins with the curse against violation of the tomb, and ends with a brief statement of the erection.

C.I.G. εἴρ τις ἀδικήσει τῇ-	τιν τις δακτύοι τῇ-
ν] ατηλητη Βαριοε	ν] ιστιάλην Ερνίου [αεχολμ-
[εσ]τω . . . χθο[ν]ιο[τε]	πινοε έχ]έτω [Μ]ῆνα χθο[ν]ιο[τε]
ἀνέστρησε οἱ Μαν-	ἀνέστρησε οἱ Μόν-
ης οὐδε	ης οὐδε

The Chthonian (or Katachthonian) Men is contrasted with the Heavenly Men: the two forms are sometimes invoked in the same epitaph. Now in the inscription *C.R.Phr.* No. 467, during the resurrection of an old Anatolian cult at Akminia, a strange god Manes Daos Heliodromus Zous is mentioned. In him we recognise the double Men: Heliodromes is the Sun-god sweeping rapidly through the heaven; Daos is the god who lives in the earth. It is here impossible to discuss the derivation of the word Daos, whose original form on the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier (beside Antioch, Ouranoupolis and Apollonia) was Gdawos, or Gdabos (Latin Datus, a slave name given to slaves from this region of Anatolia); Gdawos or Datus was derived from the word Gdan or Gda meaning earth, which corresponds to the two Greek forms χθὼν and γῆ. Thus, like Men elsewhere, Manes is described in the archaic Akminian inscription as the god Chthonian and Heavenly.

¹¹ That such a monument should be a forgery is impossible.

XI. Sterrett, *Ep. J.*, No. 203; *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 351; at Konin. My copy is Μύρας καὶ Ηραίς Ποσειδῶνα ἐργάζεται. Sterrett reads Περσέως: it is blurred at the top, which caused error. Poseidon is the native god in his aspect as causer of earthquakes. The dedication is by a husband and wife whose names are taken from Ionician religion and legend. Menas and Perseus belong probably to a priestly family, and most Lycian pagan deifications have a similar origin. Perseus is a local hero at Leonium (*Chroa. Pash.* p. 71) and at Tarsus. On Iconian coins the representations of Perseus are taken evidently from a statue in the city (which Furtwängler considers to be a copy of Myron's Perseus). The cult of Menas at Leonium is attested by the frequent occurrence in the priestly families of derived names and also of such names as Menenes, Menedemos, Menenachos, etc., which substitute a Greek word of somewhat similar sound, cp. Tenkros and Aines at Olba, Orestes, etc. (see pp. 131, 146, 149, 163, 173, 181).

The popular belief among the Greeks at Iconium is that the relief on this altar (representing Poseidon on horseback, bearing the trident and galloping to the left) is an ikon of St. Menas. Poseidon as a horseman is unusual in Greek art, but the Anatolian god is usually a horseman, often carrying a battle-axe on his shoulder.

XII. *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 110, No. 44 (Cnossin, from my copy 1901). I recopied the stone, June, 1902; Hobson's copy is used in *I.G.R.R.* iii, 262. All copies agree: I add that the form of letters is markedly post-Augustan. The stone is an excellent block used in construction, not disengaged and is nearly perfect. At Konin.

Cronin restores accordingly with the addition of only a few letters; but, though this is according to Godfrey Hermann's canon (e.g. *C.B.Phr.* ii, p. 607), and although his restoration was accepted by Mommsen, quite half of the inscription was on adjoining stones. Hobson (followed by Cagnat-Lafaye) prefers a longer restoration, which violates the necessary conditions.

Inscriptions at Antioch often extend over several stones, showing that they were engraved on a wall already built, regardless of the extent of a single stone. Probably the wall of a *stoa* was used for this purpose;¹¹² it was a public resort, and inscriptions in this situation would be *τῷ επιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ* (according to the formula). This extension adds difficulty in restoration: e.g. Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 108, in honour of Caristanius and Sergia Paula extended over three stones; as is shown in the restoration (published in my *Bulletin of Research on the New Testament*, pp. 154 f., approved in its general features by Mommsen and improved in one detail by him, when I submitted it to his judgment twenty-five years ago). Another example is the inscription in honour of P. Calvinius Russus and his wife (*J.R.S.* 1913, p. 301). It may therefore happen that a stone is complete, and yet an inscription found on it is incomplete. That has happened in several cases: e.g. at Konin, in this case

¹¹² *C.B.Phr.* ii, pp. 491 f.

The previous editor restores the Emperor Augustus with a governor Pupius; but the Emperor was Nerm, and Pupius Praesens was procurator, and Petronius governor of Galatia, A.D. 55. Crotti remarks that the governor under Augustus and the procurator must be different persons; the other editors do not notice the difficulty. The form of letters is not Augustan, but suits the period 50-100 A.D., and is similar to No. XXVI, and the dedication to Caristianus and Sergia Paula.²³ The first word may be either Tib or Neron, the titles of the former occur in this exact form *C.I.L.* 320, 1610, 2739, 2922, 3452, 3831(a) and 317, 4956, of the latter in 29420, 3743, 4699. The latter suits the space. In recognition of this great building (aided by imperial money from the procurator) *C.I.L.* 3991 was erected in his honour as benefactor and *επίτεχε* under Nero. The correct text of this inscription is:

Νέρον Κλαύδιον Καισαρ Σεβαστὸς [Τερ-
μακὸς αὐτοκράτορος ἐποίησεν τὴν σ-
κηνὴν καὶ τὸ ὑπερβαθμόν τῷ πόλε[ι] διὰ
τοῦ φιλέρωπον Πολυπίου, πρεσβε[ύο-
τος Περιφερείαν]

I.G.R.R. and Huberley restore:

Δικαιοκράτορ Καισαρ Σεβαστος [Θεοῦ
μίος αὐτοκράτορος ἐποίησεν τὴν σκη-
νὴν καὶ τὸ ὑπερβαθμόν τῇ πόλε[ι] τῷ Λεον-
τεῳ ἐπὶ Πολυπίου πρεσβε[ύοντο]

XIII. *C.I.L.* iii. 13628; 'cippus magnus' at Konia (from Professor A. Körte = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 1471); it is taken by Mommsen as broken on right in 3, 4, but no information is given.

Ιονί Ορθίου Μαζιγιο
ον Μινερνιο Ζειμηνεας
ἀπελε[ύ]θερος Φῆλιξ . . .
Ζειμηνηγ καλ Τόχη τ . . .

It is implied that nothing is lost between 1 and 2-3.

Also, *I.G.R.R.* iii. 269, from Huberley (whose restoration disregards Körte's description of the stone as a stele).

Ιονί ορθίου Μαζιγιο
Ιουνι ιερίμα ε[ν] Μινερνιο Ζειμηνεας Φορτιας Αυγ
ἀπελε[ύ]θερος Φῆλιξ [Δι]ο Ολυμπίον καλ Ηρη
καλ Αθηρη καλ θεα Ζειμηνηγ καλ Τόχη Σεβαστη

²³ Crotti prints ΠΟΛΗ in a slip, so my transcription was his sole authority; both my copies have ΠΟΛΕ.

²⁴ Mommsen prefers to write Ζειμηνεας

(presumably on the analogy of Διοληπη which had passed from the category of adjectives to that of personal names). In 2 he supposes a ligature of Ε Τ, perhaps rightly.

'Supplements non satis certa sunt.' They are obviously impossible. The copies of the two distinguished scholars differ in three points: two being serious. 1. Körte sees part of M, which Heberley misses; presumably this was due to varying delicacy of eye, or different conditions of light. 3. Körte has *ἀπελλέσθως*, Heberley *ἀπελέσθω*. *Proutat lectio diuinior*: there always is a tendency to see the common and correct form, but the difficult reading is preferable: see my commentary. 4. Körte has T where Heberley reads Σ. The latter is probably right, and the error might be easily made at the half-obliterated edge, where the mark --- alone was clear. *τοῦ κυπιοῦ* is rather long, and *κυπ.* abbreviated is not very satisfactory.

The following commentary was written with *C.I.L.* alone before me. *I.G.R.B.* 200 is so diverse that I did not recognize it at first as the same text.

The interesting document dictated in *C.I.L.* is puzzling. It is a bilingual, and yet the Latin is remote from the Greek. The two halves do not correspond, and the name of the dedicant and the fact that he was a freedman are stated in the Greek but are omitted from the Latin. The order 'freedman Felix' requires the name of the patron; but this is omitted. The Latin is dedicated to Jupiter and Minerva, whereas the Greek is dedicated to Athena and Good Fortune. The whole makes a document which is unparalleled among Graeco-Latin bilingual documents. The truth is that there was a second stone at the left containing about the same number of letters. Then the restoration emerges which restores the document to the ordinary class of bilinguals with correspondence between Greek and Latin, exact except in one interesting point.

A (Lat.)

B (copied by A. Körte).

T·FLAVIUS·AVG·LTV·FELIX·IOVI·OPTIMO·M[GENIO·DOMINI·CAESARIS·N·ET·MINERVAE·ZIZIM[TITOS·FLAUGIОССЕВАΣΤΟΥ·ΑΠΕΑΕ[ГОМЕГИСТOKA] ΘΕΛΛΑΘНАЗI] ΖΙΜΜΗΝΗΚΑΙΤΥХИ[ΟYКУР]

The size of the gap at the right-hand side of the lines is proved by the conclusion of the Greek, where it is necessary to restore *τοῦ κυπιοῦ* (*τοῦ κυπιοῦ*),¹² while the extent of the loss on the left is determined by the dedicant's name, which was given in complete form. The gaps must be of the same extent approximately in all four lines.

The Zimene Mother in the Latin is Minerva, and must be Athena in the Greek.¹³ The inscription is earlier than the time when the native title of the goddess was reintroduced in the inscriptions, i.e. it belongs to the first century or the early years of the second century. The use of Latin shows that the author was a Roman; and the general character of the lettering

¹² There is no room for *επίλεγε* in full (probably Heberley's *επίλεγε* is right).

¹³ There was a tribe of Athens 'Ploias'.

and Athena often occurs on coins and sometimes in inscriptions at Teos.

(so far as this can be gathered from the type) points to the first century.¹¹⁷

The dedicant was Felix, a freedman [of the Emperor], and the Good Fortune which he invokes must be the Emperor's. With these conditions (which are obvious from the fragment that remains) the restoration is easy. Felix used Latin as his own familiar speech, but adds a Greek version, with the strange form ἀγελάδεπος,¹¹⁸ in which the symbol *v* disappears, as he pronounced the Greek word according to the modern fashion, giving to ευ the value EF; and this sound, having no Greek symbol to correspond to it, dropped out of the writing. Similarly in an epigram published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47, the name Isaura is spelled Isaur, evidently because it was pronounced Isaura, and the V, having no Greek symbol to represent it, disappeared from the spelling.

Probably the date is under the Flavian dynasty, but the name of the Aelian or Julian family fits equally the required length. In one respect the Greek version differs from the Latin. The Greek enumerates the gods as Zeus, Athena and the Good Fortune of the Emperor, an order in agreement with Phrygo-Hellenic feeling: the supreme god and the goddess must not be separated. In the Latin the divine idea corresponding to the Good Fortune of the Emperor is lost. It came between Jupiter and Minerva. Now a freedman regarded the Genius of his master and patron as peculiarly sacred, and his most solemn oath was by his Genius, the impersonation of divine power most closely affecting himself. This imperial freedman therefore placed the Genius of the Emperor next to Jupiter O. M. In Greek Tryche Selb obtained the best rendering of Genius Cœs.

3. The name was (as usual in Greek) written in full, corresponding to the amount which has to be put into the gap at the beginning of the first Latin line. Felix undoubtedly was an official in charge of the Imperial interests on the estates (or some one of the estates) near Sizma, which extended probably to Egri-Balint (Kapo-Mana) or even Zazauju-Khan.

The restoration has been missed in *C.I.L.* solely because Mommsen gathered from the description of the stone as 'cippus' that the inscription must be almost complete; but 'cippus' is used in an elastic and haphazard way. The stone was not free-standing, but part of a construction.

XIV. *C.I.G.* 3950 at Ladik, from Hamilton. This inscription has been treated frequently (e.g. Dussau, *Præsop.* iii. p. 499, No. 31, and *I.G.R.R.* iii. No. 240). These authorities assure the correct order of office, but miss the names of the dedicant and the governor, and need some improvements in spacing; also they do not observe the reason of Hamilton's few mistakes which are easily explained. I do not quote former texts.

In studying formerly the nomenclature of Lycania I was forced to the

¹¹⁷ Latin was used in municipal documents during the years immediately following the foundation of the colony c. A.D. 125; but

this is a dedication by an individual, not by the State.

¹¹⁸ I follow Korte, as stated.

conclusion that there was in the early first century a governor of Galatia named Calpurnius Piso Frugi.¹²⁰ It was customary for provincials of high standing who were admitted to the Roman citizenship to take as their Roman name the *praenomen* and *nomen* either of the Emperor or of the provincial governor. In some cases they took both *nominia*, and the enfranchisement of the family can be traced in this way to an exact date.¹²¹ Sometimes they took the *nominia* of two successive governors, perhaps implying that the enfranchisement took place in a year in which both governors were in office. The name of Frugi must be restored here. In the dedication he is not styled governor of the Province, but the government of Galatia naturally followed after the proconsulate of Macedonia, and there are various cases in which Anatolian inscriptions omit the present title, assuming that this was evident to all readers (e.g. in the province Asia, *O.G.I.S.* Nos. 465 and 466). In the province Galatia there was no official of senatorial rank except the governor.

If I am right in restoring the name of the new citizen, he was appointed high-priest in the imperial cult at Iconium under Tiberius by Calpurnius the governor, and he took two *nominia* from the reigning emperor and the governor, according to a common fashion.¹²² He had a short second *praenomen*, his native name. Probably a high-priest in the imperial ritual was required to be a Roman citizen, and this special high-priest, a friend of the governor, was granted *the cititas* at the time of his appointment. A high-priest of the Emperor Tiberius at Iconium is mentioned, who, in his second year of duty, made a dedication to Pluto (published by Cruls from my copy in *J.H.S.* 1902, xxii. p. 119).¹²³ He also was a Roman citizen, C. Julius Oareos, whose grecoised name would probably have been Orestes, but who preferred to keep the old Lycian form (see pp. 131, 146, 169). I restore this *nomen exempli gratiae* here in the form used at Korykos.

I.G.R.R. improves Dussau a little, but disregards the length of the lines. The number of letters which it shows in each line varies from seventeen to twenty-four,¹²⁴ and in one case even twenty-eight. Such a restoration is impossible. In 14 the form appears certain and the number of letters is eighteen. 18, and probably 8 are also practically certain and contain eighteen letters. We therefore take eighteen as the normal number. In many cases the number is a matter of indifference as depending on abbreviation, but in several cases the exact length of the line determines the restoration, e.g. in 3 the article τοῖς must be omitted. The restoration

¹²⁰ *Calpurnius Asperinus*, 63-72, is not sufficient to explain the facts. His full name was probably (L. ? Nasus) Asperinus Calpurnius (Thermaeus); the last name often occurs in Galatia, but Hermans does not; see Pruyse, *Topog. Ann.*

¹²¹ The clearest example is M. Ulpius Pomponius, who gained the *cititas* when Pompeius Rufus was governor, c. 101 A.D., and whilst not M. Ulpius Pomponius Superbus

was first duumvir of the new colony Icoa, c. 101.

¹²² There is an almost unrecognisable copy of the same inscription made by Dumanides and published from him by Sterrett, *A.J.* No. 241, without transcription. See p. 126.

¹²³ The number 17 depends upon an inaccuracy in *I.G.R.R.*. The number in this line should be 19.

of the personal names depends largely on the proper length of the line.

- λεύκιον τε καλπάνθιτον
 πείσμα φρούγειδεκα
 ἀνδρὸν ἐπὶ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙ
 δικασθῆσθαι νοισχετ /
 5 ο λαρχον πλα[Τ]ΥΣΗΜΟΝ
 λέγ. δι σεβικη / ΣΤΑΜΙΑΝ
 απτιστράτη/ΟΝΕΙΤΑΡΧΕ
 ιας ήσιας / πρΕΣΒΚΑΙΑΝ
 τύττρατ. επιμρχείμακε
 10 δονιας δημαρχΟΝΔΗΜΟΥ
 δωμαλνιν πρεΣΒΚΑΙΑΝΤΙ
 στράτ. ΕπαρχΕΙΩΝΠΟΝΟ -
 Βιθυν. στρΑΤ·ΓΔΗΜΟΥΡΔ.
 μαλνιν διθύπατονμακε
 15 δοτ. η. ΙούλιοΣΚΑΛΠΟΥΡ
 πος δαρις Ι ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΣΑΜ
 εινι δι πόλει ΕΙΚΩΝΙΩΕ
 τείμησε τὸν ΕΑΥΤΟΥΦΙ
 λαν καὶ εὐεργέτην

3. The limits of space do not admit either article. The genitive τὸν after ἀνδρῶν might be expected, but the dative after ἐπι would not make such good Greek. 4. The future participle is necessary both as a Greek rendering of the Latin *getumilli* and owing to the number of letters required. This is correctly put in *L.G.R.R.* and also by Magie¹²¹; Dessau prefers the present participle. At the end, Τ is an error of Hamilton for Ι (see Introduction). 5. Hamilton omits Τ (a rare error on his part), misled by the resemblance to the following Y. 12. The ligature ΝΤ was not observed by Hamilton (who would not omit a separate Τ between Ν and Ο). A small Y, inside Ο, also escaped him. 13. Hamilton has ΑΤΤ. *L.G.R.R.* and Dessau restore the title. There was a ligature Τ-Γ which Hamilton misunderstood as ΤΤ.

The expressions *strategos* and *dēmarchos* δῆμον 'Ρομαῖων suit an early date, when Greek cities retained a sense of their own dignity and pointedly distinguished between their own *strategos* and the Roman. Frugi had not attained the consulship when he governed Galatia; this excludes the period c. 74-115 A.D. (unless he was merely a *legatus* *fisciarius*), but other considerations show the exact date. He served twice in Macedonia in offices which exclude the period 15 to 44 A.D. A fragment at Antioch on which a

¹²¹ *Dicitur etiam, quod in ipso sermo conservatur, p. 17.*

brief commentary is published at the end of my article in the forthcoming number of *J.R.S.* 1916, mentions this same governor, and it is there shown that he governed Galatia under Tiberius. We conclude, therefore, that he quitted Macedonia and went to Galatia A.D. 12-13. Inasmuch as Tiberius was in the habit of leaving his provincial governors undisturbed for a long term of office, it may be supposed that Frugi remained long in Galatia, and on this account his name was used in a number of provincial families which attained the *civitas* at this time. There is no reason to think that the *civitas* was frequently bestowed under Tiberius, but there always were cases when families of high distinction were admitted to this honour.

This officer cannot be identical with L. Calpurnius Piso, proconsul of Asia in the early imperial time, who is mentioned at Pergamum (see Fraenkel, *Inscriften von Pergamon*, No. 425), at Mytilene (Paton, *Inscr. Mar. Arg.* II. 219) and at Stratonicea of Caria (*B.C.H.* 1881, p. 183). Two of the inscriptions omit the title, but the inscription of Mytilene mentions it.

XV. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 181, furnishes welcome confirmation of a view which I have long entertained about old Anatolian religion. It is a dedication to Dionysos Archibacchos and the Mystai, and the epithet shows the god in the character of chief Bauchos (priest). The priests were Bauchoi, and the god is their leader and chief; in the ultimate view he is the first priest who revealed the whole ritual to his successors. He is also probably the mythical ancestor of the priestly family (No. VI); but in this matter the only argument is analogy and probability. Similarly we may presume that at Pergamus Dionysos was the Archiboukolos, who originally practised the ritual, in which the management of oxen, the improvement of the breed and all the useful practices in that occupation were set forth and enforced by religious sanction. The original meaning of the term Bauchos in Anatolia is uncertain, but it may be gathered from this dedication that the Mystai as they are initiated into the sacred rites become themselves Bauchoi and Galloj and Attabokoi, etc. There was, of course, always a man as Archibacchos or Archiboukolos, just as there was a priest Archigallo; he represents on earth the god, who in heaven performs the same act which his priest is performing on earth. This ratification in heaven is shown fully in a relief at Koula in East Lydia (from Satala, published in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 63), and implied in a relief at Saghir, near Antioch, published in *Annual B.S.A.* 1911-12, p. 67 (see also pp. 144 f.).

XVI. *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 235 (Ramsay). The first eighteen lines of this important inscription, giving a career of municipal office in the fourth century (a period when such records are very rare), were *earlier* published 19-28 are an Appendix in smaller, shallower, wavering letters, the surface is in great part destroyed, and 22-26 were left unrestored.¹⁶

¹⁶ In the former publication the type did not allow all the traces; and even in the one

I cannot imitate successfully the hand, sometimes slanting form.

Calder and I recopied the stone in 1911, adding to the Appendix some parts of letters on the right.¹² The following rather bold restoration is proposed, following the natural drift of such an Appendix. First (1-18) Antonius and Frugi buried their mother; later (19-28) Antonius alone buried in the same family tomb his wife Basilia, who left to him an only child aged five months.

ΕΤΙΔΕΕΓΓΩΑΝΤΩ
ΤΗΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΜΟ
ΣΥΛΒΙΩΦΛΒΑΛΑΚ
ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥΞΕΠΟΣ
ΛΑΟΣ
CAN ΗΡΟΥ
ΤΑΗΙΛΛ
ΕΛΙΕΠΙ
ΜΝΗΜΗ
ΑΛΑΙ

ετι δε τυπο ο λατιο.
20 τη γλυκυτατη μο
εγραφε φλ. Βασιλλη
Δαμιανο [θ] πολεμηση
Λαοσ. [προλε]ψι ψια-
ση μηρ[υγενη] σι-
25 τιμησι ον κληθεισαι
επι μετασησι Κυριον
μημης [αδοιον και
αραι παισσωε

23, 25. Difficulty is caused by the false sequence of cases. The participles are used in the accusative after the personal name in the dative. Similarly in 8 ff. participles in the nominative follow a noun in the dative. Syntax was neglected in epitaphs of the third and fourth centuries, e.g. the inscription in my *Bearing of Research on the New Testament*, pp. 358 f.¹³

10. The mark of abbreviation which is regularly used elsewhere in the text is omitted here on the stone.

25, 26. The child's name might be restored here, but probably it is nameless, being only five months old. The traces would be fulfilled by, e.g. [Καλταρη] followed by Τοπε[ρδητη] for Σπυριδητη, but this would not explain the letters at the end of 26, which are almost certainly part of [Κυριον], perhaps with free imitation of 2 Thess. ii. 14, θαλλεσεν... εις περπενης διδης Κυρ.; 'called to the obtaining of the everlasting memory and rest of the Lord.' The writer was cramped by space at the end of the stone, in which the letters are crowded up, and could not finish the name of the Lord. References to the words of the New Testament are rare in Lycaonian inscriptions. Some examples are given in my article on 'The Church of Lycaonia in the Fourth Century,' No. 41 L²², and others have been found. The frequent allusion to the reader of the epitaph, ο δειπνοσας (also plural), recalls Rev. i. 3; and the common formula in the concluding unathionum of epitaphs, ταυ μελλοντα (once δοχοπερον) επινε-

¹² The printed text in *Ath. Mitt.* shows H. in 21, but both copies (1886, 1911) agree that the symbol is M badly shaped.

¹³ The reading τιμησι ον κληθεισαι

τιμησι was tried, but does not suit the traces.

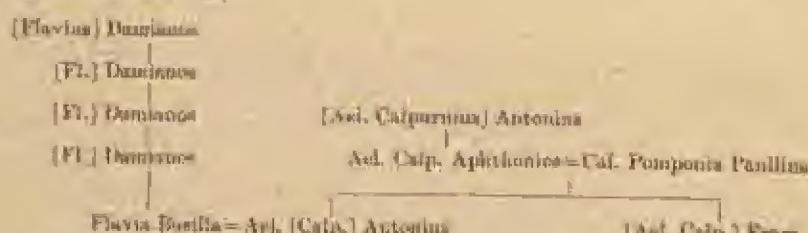
²² *Lata, the Ephesos and other Stud., in His. Relig.*, p. 400 f.

$\xi\omega\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$, goes back to 2 Tim. iv. 1, ep. Barnabas 7. The phrase about 'the hope of the future life'¹²⁷ recalls 'the hope of everlasting life' in Titus i. 2 and iii. 7; ep. Barnabas 1; also 2 Clem. v. 5; and see Scherzer, *Texte u. Ualere*, xxxvi. Hefl. I b, pp. 23 and 27. Having CEB in mind at first in 26, we read certainly P followed by a mark (abbreviation), and preceded by the corner of C or E or Y, probably Y.

The $\phi\delta\alpha\iota$ of the Hellenised Laodicea in the second century have disappeared, and *pago* (the old Anatolian $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$ revived) take their place. The Latin term points to the continuing power of Roman organisation. The office of *paganus* in 12 perhaps indicates not the headman of a village,¹²⁸ but a municipal officer charged with control of the *pagi* in the large territory of Laodiceia, where his duties would probably approximate in character to the *circumlocutio* of an earlier period. The *paganarchie* is mentioned after $\xi\omega\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ (*i.e.* who six times acted as *prosecutor* *cauponae*), and it would naturally facilitate the *prosecutio*. If *paganus* in the career meant only 'headman of his village,' he is not annually elected, but permanent head of his *pagus* which is an oriental and non-Hellenic feature. At any rate, the Hellenistic system is breaking up (as elsewhere in Anatolia), and a different system is taking its place, probably a revivification (with differences) of the ancient Anatolian village system.

The Roman names are still fairly well preserved in the inscription, so that it can hardly be later than the middle of the fourth century. We repeat in improved form the restoration proposed formerly for the last two lines, proving the Christian character apart from the conjecture in 23-6. The date is probably about 330 A.D.

The *stemma* of the family may be restored as follows, inserting in several cases the *nomen*, which, as being hereditary in the family, was not always stated. The compilation of noble *nominis* indicates a family of long descent, uniting several Laodiceian houses, which obtained the *civitas* at various times.



22. The symbol after $\Delta\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\mu\mu$ is either Δ (meaning as in pedigree)¹²⁹ or

¹²⁷ See *Loc. cit.* and *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 56; ep. 1 Pet., 13, m. 17.

¹²⁸ The terms $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ and $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ (*tribunus*) are found in Lycaonia and Phrygia fourth-century inscriptions. Read in 12, $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ or $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$. $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ and $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ are known, but not $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$ nor

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$\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\omega\pi\omega\kappa$. The possibility must always be admitted that *Paganarchie* was placed last, as outside the municipal career, and implies only 'head of a village.'

¹²⁹ Δ is surpassed by E. G.H.Phr. No. 292. It can hardly stand for *Διαδικτυον*, which is expressed by *σε(γράφει)* in δ and often in

Α [πρώτος] πόλε(ως) Λαοδίκειας, imprunable), or Α [imineligible]: also ἀ(πό) πόλε. Λαοδ. is imprunable. ΠΟΛΕ either πόλε(τεντομ.) as in 9), or πόλε(τας), or πόλε(ως).

XVII. Sterrett, W.E. 546. Olu-Boru in the Kale. The rest of the letters are concealed from view.¹²⁰ No transcription has been published. The form of Σ was misrepresented in W.E.: see No. VI.

ἀδημος ὁ ἀπολλονιατῶν
Ἐτελεύτερος ἀπολλονιος δή;
Ολυμπίχου τοῦ ἀρτέμιου
Ταῦ
Τ ἀγροθετήταρτα ἀγά.
5 ΝΑς σεβαστείουν καὶ τοὺς λαο-
πούς ΣΤΡΕῖς ἐν τῇ πενταετίᾳ
ΤΟΝΣΣΕΒΑΣΤίαν, ἀλείφωντα τὴν
ΠΟΛΙΝΕΚΤῷν ἔστοι ἔξαμψον δ.
ΑΟΝΕΥΕργητίσατα τὸν δῆμον

10 ΚΑΙΠΡΕΣθείσατα πρὸς γερμα-
ΝΙΚΟΝΚαισαρα δι' ἀνατολῆ, ἐκδί-
κΗΣΑΝΤα δίς, ἵερατάμενον θε-
ΑΣΡΩΜΗΣ, ἐστίσσεις τε καὶ ἐπι-
δΟΣΕΙΣ Δάντα τῷ δῆμῳ, δι' τῶν
15 ΠΟΛΥΤΕλοῦς καὶ φιλαγθρότατη
ΚΑΙΣΥΜφερόκτος ἀκαστρόφ-
ΩΜΕΝΟΝ¹²¹

The first dignity mentioned after the personal name 1-3 must be some typical Greek honour: either it is an agmōthesia, or a statement of victories in the great games by a distinguished athlete. restoration is possible on either supposition. In my first essay I preferred the latter form, but agmōthesia is more probable (following Anderson). If my old restoration, [*τεττήσατα ἀγώνας εἰσελαστικοῖς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τρεπάνορτα* δέτε], *ἀρχιερία*] τῶν σεβαστῶν, &c. &c., were adopted, it would separate the high-priesthood of the emperors from the priesthood of the goddess Roma. These two dignities were distinct foundations. The latter was probably instituted under the Republic to express the gratitude of the State for some Roman action by which the city had benefited, possibly the freeing of Apollonia from subjection to the Seleucid kings in 189 B.C., or the expulsion of the Mithridatic power. It was as much an act of prudence as of gratitude. Such as it was, this old priesthood lasted as late as the time of Tiberius. It is possible that a high-priesthood of Augustus, instituted when the statue to Lollius was erected (No. VI.) was transformed into an imperial priesthood after the idea of successive emperors was establishing itself in a public ritual under Tiberius.

8-13, which can be restored with confidence, establish the date and character: the person who was honoured had distributed oil (οἶνος?) to the city at his own expense for a whole year?, thereby being a benefactor of the people; he had gone as envoy to Germanicus Caesar (A.D. 19); he

Antioch is the fourth century, not the third century.

¹²⁰ The stone should be found again. Sterrett thought it was incomplete.

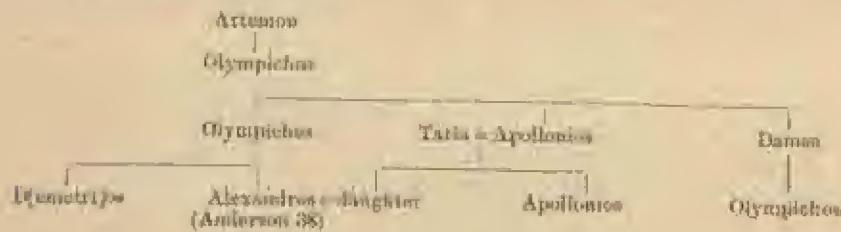
¹²¹ In δ perhaps read *τερπίς* *τερπάντα* in 7

τερπάντα 8 *τερπάντι* or even *τερπάν-*
ταντι; 11, 12, 13 *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι* is too short; 12 1, *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι* *τερ-*
πάντι *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι* *τερπάντι*, or something vaguer
form, is possible.

had served as *Ekdikos* and as priest of the goddess Roma: the last duty probably ceased early under the Empire (Anderson *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 97, who quotes *C.B.Phr.* Nos. 199, 302, 345, also p. 305 on this cultus at Eumenia and Apamea).

If the restoration of a *L.* is correct, the reference must be to a period of four years in which there occurred some specially noteworthy and brilliant games called *Augustini* (Sebastein). The name is common; but some special occasion is implied in the words 8-7, the *Penteleis* of the Sebastini, viz., when games in honour of the deceased Augustus were celebrated. The event was probably connected with the erection in Apollonia of a monument containing the Greek version of *Rex Gestae D. Aug.* This *Penteleis* would be about A.D. 15 to 20, when in four successive years four festivals with games were celebrated, after the funeral games of Augustus (*τερπε μεγάλους Σεβαστίου*).

This inscription should be compared with Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 97, No. 37, where Demetrios, son of Olympichos, gymnasarch and priest of Roma, went twice as ambassador to the Emperor, paying his own expenses, under the early Empire (as Anderson remarks). If the present inscription relates to the same person, Demetrios, son of Olympichos, it belongs to a later period of his life, when he had served the State much longer, but the identity is hardly possible, as the gymnasarchia would hardly be omitted. Possibly Anderson's inscription relates to the cousin of the person mentioned here. Probably Demetrios went as envoy to Augustus twice; a member of the same family was envoy to Germanicus a generation later. The family was the most eminent and wealthy in Apollonia, and is mentioned also in L.W. 1195a (Sterrett, *W.E.* 518), and Anderson, *l.c.* No. 38; generations of a much later period also occur. The stemma may with liberal hypothesis be restored as



XVIII. *C.I.G.* 4007 (from Paulus Lucus) is misread thus:

*Ελιος Γαιος εατεα[κ]ε·
ιασε τηρ λιρικα εαυτη κε γν·
ρει αντον Πιστη κε τενοι· δε
δε ότ επερος [έπει]σθισηητε, όποι·
σετε τη πόλι δημ. [. . . εκ τη] φίλοις] ταύτα.

In 1 the word omitted in *C.I.G.* is Δαχαράς, i.e. λαχανοπώλης; the name of the trade had become a personal cognomen. Sellers of green

vegetables would have a good business at Iconium on the dry plateau, the vegetables were grown in the gardens on the west side of the city.

In 2 the spelling $\tau\sigma\gamma\tau\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha$ might not to have been corrected (?) by the editors; it shows the Iconian pronunciation. In 5 the copy of Lascus is complete and correct, except that he has P for Β; but it is badly handled in C.I.G. Read $\delta\gamma\tau\phi\beta\cdot\delta[\beta]ios\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$, with the common tag.

XIX. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 170, a certain Tertius is commemorated in an epitaph by his mother and father and friends as "a physician, a good interpreter of lovely knowledge," $\varepsilon\lambda\gamma\tau\beta\rho\delta\mu\theta\delta\tau\gamma\omega\mu\tau\kappa\alpha\tau\gamma\tau\gamma\gamma$. This expression has an appearance of Christian doctrine, and might be interpreted as referring not to the profession of medicine, but to that of religious instruction. In the third century Christianity had to be veiled in public documents. The poetic reference to the menses of Hades in 4 is consistent with Christian origin,¹²² as is also the punishment invoked against violation of the tomb, which is purely legal and introduces no pagan religious power. The whole manner shows that the document belongs at latest to the third century, and it has the characteristic Anatolian variation between the first and the third person. The first six hexameters, very halting in their metrical character, speak of Tertius and his wife Annas in the third person; the last four lines are expressed by the Tertius practically in the form of a last will and testament.

Physicians are mentioned in various inscriptions of Anatolia, mostly late (cp. Sterrett, W.E. 407, 424). This and the next are doubtful.

XX. Sterrett, W.E. 253 (R. 1901).

		[Πέτρος]
ANXA	α] Ἀρχα	
PHNAKOYIN	ομνα Κου	
I A A A K	τ]ιλλα Κ.	
AN X A P H	Ἀνχαρῆ	
5 NΩΠΤΕΤΡΩ	ηρ Πετρ ο	
N I W T W KAI	είφ τρ και	
A N N I W	Ἀρ[η] Ι[ριη]	
H M E M	Κλ]ήμεν [τι	
EPIΩΔΕ	π]εριώδειν	
10 Η E C T H	τ]η ἑστη-	
KAI	σε] και	
.ΟΙ/		
YE///P		

An expression of relationship, such as $\eta\vartheta\gamma\mu\tau\pi\rho$, is probably lost at the beginning. 7. There is a space between N and N, but no letter except,

¹²² C.B.Phr. II, pp. 387, 518; Lebas, 2145; Lehmann, *Text. Chr.* II, p. 466.

perhaps, a dot or hyphen, giving *Anomus* (*Animus*). 7-8 *κελημένος* is not impossible. 11-13 were copied only by Sterrett; the stone suffered between 1885 and 1901. 13 *εὐεργέτης*?

Q. Petronius Anchiarens, otherwise called *Anicius* (?) *Clemens*¹²³ was a practising physician at Lystra; *περιδιατής* in this sense is mainly Christian¹²⁴ and almost all the Lycacian inscriptions that refer to physicians are Christian (see No. XIX.); but this epitaph has no appearance of Christian character or late date; the lost conclusion (which, perhaps, may be restored by some reader) might give further information. If *κελημένος* could be read, the meaning would be 'popularly called "the traveller"'¹²⁵. The names indicate the aristocratic position of a leading colonial family at Lystra.

XXI. *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 40, read *εἰποιόφερη Παπία, καλὴ ὄφεικάλ[ι], οὐδὲ τε γάρ ἀλλατος*. Previously we imagined a feminine name *Ophis*. This rendering of the Latin *Officiale* is interesting: the title was pronounced by Isaurians in such a way that the second I became the spirant Y, for which Greek has no symbol. The very frequent use of the spirants W and Y in Anatolian speech caused great difficulty to Greek mouths and to Greek writers. The date can hardly be later than fourth century (as shown there).

XXII. *Studies*, etc., p. 41. The strange name *Kouζατεας* or *Kouαζαφεας* recalls *Koζατηρας* in an inscription of Alexandria in Egypt, which contains only names from this region.¹²⁶ The first element is in its simplest form Koza, nasalised Kouza and Kouanza (i.e. Kwanza). The second element, Peta or Pheta, perhaps is a lengthening of Pta, one of a large group of monosyllabic names, such as Tas, Bas, Zas, Klous, Louis, Mos, Pious, Glous, Tous, and many others, sometimes reduplicated as Tottes, Tahus, Tetes, Dazas, Thoutous.

This class of names is sharply to be distinguished from the long compound names, involving names of gods like Turk (Troko) or In, and unknown forms, possibly divine, such as Ros or Ro, Kozi, Opra or Oura (which is local), Tarkundberas, Bodburnas, Lazarinas, Trokozarmas, etc. The two classes of names belong to two strata of population. The compound names are the nobler in type, suited to a conquering people, while the simple names belong to the older population, but the two groups are mixed in a gradually unified population, and appear side by side in the great list of priests inscribed on the *antea* of the Korykian temple. The name Pigratus is involved also in Trokomagremis, Romblagrus. Many of the humble

¹²³ The second Roman name may come from his mother.

¹²⁴ The word is quoted from Athanaseos of a doctor making his rounds (similarly the verb). It is also used of a spiritual visitor almost in the sense of *superfluous*; Canon 7 of Synod, *Londin*, provides that in the villages and country districts not having ps but *κελη-*

μεν should be appointed, in order to prevent the poor bishop from falling into low esteem.

¹²⁵ See the *Thousand and One Churches*, No. 8, p. 518, and *G.R.Ph.* No. 420, *G.I.G.* 228.

¹²⁶ Wilhelm, *Babyloni*, p. 221.

class of Anatolian names were taken over by the conquering Phryges, but not the aristocratic compounds: this seems to imply either that the humbler population lived on under the Phrygian domination, whereas the aristocratic families fled (or became thoroughly Phrygianised), or that the aristocracy of the south-east and the Taurus regions never conquered Phrygia proper, and probably came into Asia Minor only at or after the irruption of the Phryges. In the later period, when the word 'Phryx' meant slave, the old class of true Phrygian noble compound names as found on the early royal tombs disappears.

XXIII. *Studies*, p. 32. Kell and Prellerstein (*Reise I. in Lykien*, p. 69) quote Savignoni in *Jahreshefte Ost.* vii. 1904, p. 79f. with regard to the meaning of the common ornament on Anatolian gravestones, two birds. They consider that these were not to be taken as pets of the deceased, but point to the euhemmed life of the deceased in the Elysian fields, and they publish a good example on a tombstone at Philadelphia. That there is some mystical meaning in this ornament used so frequently in Isauria and Lyconia in Christian tombstones may be taken as certain, as is proved by the familiar analogy of the fish (a common Isaurian and Lycian ornament on tombstones), which, as Origen says in his Commentary on Matthew xiii. 10, was *τροπικός λεγέματος ἡθὸς*, caught upon the hook of Peter through his own kind intention. Usener, *Singhathagen*, p. 227, and Brinko in *Tafte u. Unt.* N.E. ii. p. 182, n. 3, also quote the expression that Mary 'hath a fish which is caught by the hook of divinity,' and the epitaph of Acirius about 192 A.D. speaks about the fish which a pure virgin caught.

XXIV. *O.I.G.* 3865 b (Iconium: from Hamilton).

ΑΥΞΑΝΩΝ ΚΙΣΤΙΚΟΔΑ	
ΟΚΙΜΕΙCTEXNEITAI	
ΕΥΧΑΡΙСΤΟΥΜΕΝΤΟΙC	
ΤΕCCAPCINCTEMMACINTHOIKOC	
5 ΝΙΑΚΡΑΙΗΣΥΧΙΩΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥΤΩ	
ΠΡΟΣΤΑΘΡΑΙΜΕΤΑΤΑΕΗΣΕΥΝΟ	
ΕΤΙΜΕΛΗΣΑΜΕΝΩ	

Αὐξάνων καὶ ζωτικός Δ-	
ομηρές τεχνίτας	
εὐχαριστοῦμεν τοῖς	
τέσσαροιν στέμμασιν τίσσε] οἰκο[δο-	
μήται καὶ Ήσυχίη Θεοδοσίου τῷ	
προστάτῃ καὶ μετὰ τίλ[ιστ]ης εἰρη[σε]	
επιμελησαμένῳ	

This text, as given in *O.I.G.*, is meaningless. I give a drawing of the stone as it was seen by Hamilton, necessarily conjectural; for all restorations are conjectural, until they are proved by rediscovering the stones. Some day this stone will be found in pulling down an old house at Iconium; and perhaps there may be someone there to see and take note; but the only person in the city that interested himself in inscriptions, our practised Greek servant, either is killed or has succeeded in making his way to the British lines. The restoration and interpretation here proposed seem certain and self-evident:



Auxanon and Zouikos, Dokimian artists,

we express our gratitude to the four stonemasons that constitute
the Column and to Hesychios, (tribal) prosiates and who has
superintended ¹⁷ the work with all goodwill.'

The circumstances in which the dedication was created are evident. Two artisans from Dokimion ¹⁸ were employed by colonia Aelia Hadriana to do certain skilled work. They, having the artist feeling, did not speak merely through words to the mind; they also appealed to the eye in artistic forms. When they mention four crowns, they presented them to the eye, as shown in the zinc, in the four corners of the monument: that position is deduced from the fact that the lines varied in length, being written partly in the free space in the middle, and partly in the narrower space between the pairs of crowns. The monument begins at the top in shorter lines between the two top crowns, and ends in one short line between the two lower crowns.¹⁹ This monument was not merely an expression of gratitude

¹⁷ See our compare No. VIII, 1, 2.

¹⁸ Stonecutters or sculptors trained at Dokimion, to do high-class work in any kind of marble, were widely employed. At Ptolemaic Antioch in the second century B.C., Menander, son of Diogenes, of Dokimion signed his name on the base of a statue of Zeus rather larger than human size (the ordinary type of Zeus seated, as on bases of the Saviour and other kings). Dokimian workmen were employed

¹⁹ Lastiem (adib. Math., 1884, p. 237). Reference to the use of Dokimian marble occurs at Apollonia (C.I.G. iii. 8972; I. W. 1162) and at Hierapolis (C.I.G. iii. 2222).

²⁰ Of course, the final line is often short, apart from any constructional reason. I have, however, placed it between the corners symmetrically, as this was likely to suit the taste of the artist.

to some body of persons (misunderstood in *O.I.O.*) and to the overseer. It was also a trade advertisement, and as such it was put in an attractive and striking form, as a specimen of the high-class work done by the artists.

The meaning is clear, when the form of the advertisement is placed before the reader's eye. The monument stood in the quarter or district occupied by the tribe of which Hesychios was prostates. The four garlands constitute the *clanaria*, because there were four tribes in the city, and each occupies a garland.²³¹ This somewhat affected expression was evidently considered by the writers a proof of good style, and they wished to show that they were not ignorant of the refinements of Greek. The artisans had been employed in the construction or adornment of some public work; and, according to the regular custom, an overseer was appointed to superintend and be responsible for its proper execution. The superintendent (*επιμέτρος*, *επεικαρτής*) was Hesychios, the headman of one of the tribes.²³² Whether L. S. was complete or some short word was lost at the end (as is suggested by the drawing), remains uncertain.

We gather from the inscription that the population of Iconium was divided into four tribes. This was the 'Old' Ionian (and Anatolian) classification, which, as applied to Athens, is described by Strabo in such a way as to prove its character: it is the ancient Asiatic classification into four occupations, priests, warriors, agriculturists and artisans.²³³ That it came from the Eastern side of the Aegean Sea with Ionian settlers into Attica is well known, and Strabo as an Anatolian is a good authority. Unfortunately, Hamilton has not the names of the tribes, because the garlands had been defaced before he saw the stone. They were of course in relief, and they were chiselled away to adapt the stone to some structural purpose by modern,²³⁴ or possibly Byzantine masons. The date of the monument is undoubtedly not very long after the foundation of the *colonia*, 130-125 A.D.

It is possible, but not probable, that the double use of *stomata*, in the sense of a garland and of pedigree, might be in the mind of the two artists when composing their quaint expression of gratitude. The word *stomata*²³⁵

²³¹ On many honorary monuments the name of a tribe was engraved within a garland.

²³² The title *Praestor* was used both in Gaul and in Ionia.

²³³ Strabo, p. 882. Plutarch, *Solon* 22, has lost the essential character; but the German authorities prefer Silius, and accuse Strabo of error. Elsewhere, the history of the *Quinti-Celimenes* and *Aigikoroi* will be discussed. Plato, *Tha.* 24, *Cro.* 130, confirms Strabo. *Aigikoroi* are *Aigikaroi*, great priests, like *Attabakos* at Pessinus (see *W.*, *Grecia*, the great, Atlas the architec-toper, esp. Sc. XV.).

²³⁴ In modern Turkey these masons are practically always Greeks; I know one exception alone, and his work was done without

mortar, though in this class of construction he was skilled. The ordinary Turkish mason can do only very rude rough work. The masons back away projecting parts, if they pride themselves on their skill. The rude Turk leaves the stone as he finds it.

²³⁵ How did *stomata* come to mean pedigree as is used in Latin? Examples occur even in Greek (see *Athen.* 827; *Plin. IV. Nat.*, 102). The supposition that genealogical connection was indicated by *ostentum stoma*, as reported in and from German authorities, does not convince. Was it that, in a pedigree roll, the names (or the chief names) were put within garlands? *Stomata* could mean, etc., in several respects increased vividness on this application.

might be used on the popular theory that a tribe springs from a definite ancestor according to the common genealogical fiction. Certainly in various cases the tribes in a Hellenic city of Greece or Asia Minor had an ethnic character, and one nationality was often enrolled in a special tribe. This classification was often carried out in a very arbitrary fashion; e.g. Josephus mentions that all the Jews in Syrian Antioch were enrolled in the tribe Makedones, which was of course the most honourable of all in a Seleucid city. There is no improbability in the supposition that each of the four tribes in Iconium possessed theoretically a certain ethnic character, e.g. that all Roman citizens were assigned to one tribe, that all the old Phrygian population were assigned to a second tribe, and so on, but this principle would be a later innovation, for the old Asiatic and Anatolian division was by occupation.

While it is evident that the advertisement of the two artists was ornate and intended to strike the public eye and please the public taste, the ornament remains conjectural. All that we can say with confidence is: (1) the crowns occupied the four corners; (2) there was an elaborate border surrounding the whole panel, and also some ornament in the middle, of which we have suggested in the zincotype one probable feature. A common class of ornament on gravestones in Lycaonia and Isauria shows two vines or trailing plants growing out of a central vase. The natural place for this ornament would be between 2 and 3, separating the names of the artists from the rest of the advertisement, and thus giving prominence to them.

In 4 the restoration in *CIG* is impossible. It gives no meaning, and alters Hamilton's copy in unlawful degree: he is not apt to omit letters, and he would not mistake *N* for *M*. In 6 *CIG* restores $\pi\lambda\epsilon[\sigma\tau]yc$ assuming that Hamilton missed out three letters without indicating the loss, an error to which he is not liable. To restore the usual formula needs only two slight and permissible corrections.

Two of the tribes of Iconium are mentioned in an imperfect inscription (of which only the concluding part remains) published by Wiegand in *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 325 (copied also by me in 1905); and if, as is probable, all the four were mentioned, Athen Polias¹⁴ and Augusta were last in the list. A third tribe is mentioned in another inscription, viz. Hadriane of Herakles. It is possible that the *prostheses* of each tribe was required to be a Roman citizen. That of course was necessary after the city was made a *colonia*, but even earlier this important position was perhaps entrusted to a *civis*; offices like the headship of the four philosophic schools in the University of Athens, and the administration of the Museum at Alexandria, must be filled by *cives* (as was provided by a decree) which probably dates from Augustus, though it was relaxed by Hadrian in respect of the chief of the Epicurean School.

¹⁴ The tribe of Athen is in genitive: Zeus is so frequently named on coins and compare park Zeus at Amorium. The missing inscription
tribe at Iconium was perhaps (see n. 13)

in a decree which has been commented on by various scholars, e.g. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften Jurist.* iii. p. 59).

A good example of the use of an inscription as the advertisement of an enterprising professional man occurs at the sanctuary of Men above Pisidian Antioch. The most conspicuous of many dedications to the god which are engraved at the outer wall of the sanctuary, within view of the processions or of single visitors, was placed by the physician Hygelos. It is engraved in larger characters than any other, and is so placed on the side of a buttress that everyone who approaches the sanctuary from the city must see it. It was evidently designed to increase the medical practice of Hygelos in the city, but it takes the form simply of an expression of his gratitude and devotion to the god. Again it is well known that certain of the general anathemas, consigning to the gods of the lower world anyone who fails to return a certain lost article to its owner, were really advertisements of lost property, and No. XXIX. gives a further illustration of the custom.

Such then was the real character of the gratitude expressed by the two artisans of Dokimion. It expresses a lively hope of future favours from the State or from individual citizens of the Colonia Ieronensis.

XXV. *C.I.G.* 360b at Ladik also *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 220, No. 12 (Ramsay), is repeated here, because the errors in *C.I.G.* can be in part corrected, but still more in order to direct the attention of scholars to the problem of restoring l. 7, where a short word containing from two to four letters is required. I can think of no suitable word beginning with the letter Σ, the only one that survives in Hamilton's copy: I have seen only the right-hand part; Hamilton saw both fragments of a fountain. The most natural supposition is that the word which is last specified the total number of the tribes, implying that the entire State, as consisting of a certain number of tribes, erected the honour to Epagathos. Possibly Hamilton erred in the first letter and Σ should be corrected either to Ξ, implying Ξτάρ or Ξε, or to Δ, implying Δέκα.

Α]Δανο [Ξ]αιονι-	προστ[άτ]ας φι-
ο]ρ Τε[ρ]ατορ δ-	λδού Σ . . τού ε-
ροπα[ν]ηματος.	νετωρ [πι]πομη
το λε[β]ηπε νιο	οι ει[πη]πηπηνοι
ο Αλφ. Τρ[ατα]ρον αι	

The name Naevius (*Néouios*) is given at Antioch (Storck, *E.J.* No. 150); but Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 89, Ramsay, *J.R.S.* 1916, ad fin., read Néovios.

XXVI. As I have been obliged to differ from Professor Wilhelm in regard to the interpretation of No. VI., I add that his *Beträge* has taught me much; but it is more instructive in respect of Greek than of Anatolian

¹⁴ Formerly I suggested *(τορ)ους* instead of *Δανος*. The space does not permit, and Δανος is derived from a newly found text.

inscriptions¹⁴⁷. Where the Greek spirit rules, there his suggestions are extremely valuable, but the mixture of Greek and Anatolian thought does not appeal to him, and his corrections are sometimes deleterious to the text, leading in a false direction. In this Graeco-Anatolian world he does not always fix on the right, or detect the point where error has crept in. I mention two cases.

J.H.S. 1902, p. 349, published by Cronin, is phonetically re-written in his *Baistrije*, p. 221, and the correct first half of the text is: unguis,

την ομηρείαν

ΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣΦΡΟΝΩΝ
ΦΙΛΗΤΗ ΜΑΡΞΟΥΛΛΗΥ
ΕΙΟΜΕΝΖΩΝΦΡΟΝΩΝ
ΤΟΓΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΟΝΕΡΙ
ΒΟΙΚΟΝΕΧΕΙΝ
ΔΕΕΞΟΥΛΙΑ
ΤΙΝΑΔΟΥ
ΛΟΜΑΙΔΕ
ΤΡΟΣΟΔ
ΟΝΕΤΑ
ΕΚΝΟ

Cronin,
Οβιαλέριος Φρόν[τ]ην
Φιλήτη Μαρσούλλη^ρ
Θεσά μὲν ζῶν φρονῶν
τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν περι.
Βοικον ἔχειν
δὲ ἐξορτία-
· τ δρινη βοή
λομαιδε
τροσοδευ [μ]ετά
τέλετας

The meaning is 'I Valerius Fronto consecrate to Phileta Marsulla the grave and the surrounding precinct, etc.' Wilhelm substitutes Λοζερδ, and looks out for a son, whom he finds through the supposition of a false reading on Cronin's part. No progress can be expected in elucidating the inscriptions of Central Anatolia so long as scholars, instead of understanding the ancient formulas and local customs, resort to conjecture. 'When you do not understand the words, alter the text' is not a safe method. It is admitted that the flood of conjectures which has been poured forth upon the Greek authors has been in large degree harmful, and that little progress can be made in this way. The same applies in respect of inscriptions: it is sometimes necessary to resort to conjecture, but the limits should be set as narrowly as possible, and the principles should be defined. By conjectural alteration of existing copies anything can be produced, and only error will be achieved. On the other hand, in the latter part of this inscription Wilhelm's suggestion is perhaps correct, because he accepts Cronin's copy and fills up the gaps in allowable fashion; and I would almost withdraw my own restoration in his favour.

¹⁴⁷ In respect of Anatolian antiquities and expression it stands in contrast to the in-

valuable work of Röhl and Preller, who have studied Anatolia very fully.

Still I give my highly conjectural text (agreeing in 1-4 with Cronin) and Wilhelm's side by side:

Ο]έαλεμος Θρό[τ]ων	Ο]έαλεμος ¹⁴²
Φιλήτη Μαρσούλη	Οδά]λητ[ι] Μαρσούλη { δ.
Θεᾶ μὲν ξεν φροντί-	τρῷ περί ξεν φροντί-
τὸν ταῖφον καὶ τὸν περί-	τὸν ταῖφον καὶ τὸν περί-
5 θολον ἔχειν [μηδέ-	θολον ἔχειν
τα] δὲ ἔξαστας [πλήρ-	δὲ ἔξαστας
έα] την βασιληθώ ἐπαγ-	διετινα δαι-
γελλοματ δὲ [μέτε-	λοματ. (βασιληματ) δὲ
ν α]προσοῦδευτον τὸν	Προσαδ-
10 τοπ]ον μετά γελευτῆν-	ον μετά γ
τῶν τέλευτον μου	τει(ω)ν

I was inclined at first to prefer Wilhelm's restoration of 7-11-as shorter rather than my own in accordance with the canon of Godfrey Hermann (quoted already on No. XII. p. 160); but his arrangement arouses suspicion, because it makes the lines very short at the end, and it ignores the probability that at least one letter is lost at the beginning of 10. It is, of course, possible that an inscription on a round cippus should trail off into short lines at the end, but such arrangement is unusual. It seems, therefore, permissible for me to suggest a possible reading on the supposition that the lines were of the same length throughout. On the other hand my restoration in 6 places δε third, an unusual order.

Further, with regard to Wilhelm's text in the last lines there seems to be a distinct improbability that on the gravestone of his wife Philota Marsilla he should express his desire that Prosohos also should be buried there with children, for Prosohos would have to be interpreted as a composite. There is no possibility of regarding her as a second wife added in an appendix (cp. No. XVI.), for the whole is written by one hand. I remember no similar case, and the suggested reading seems incongruous with the feeling shown in epitaphs of this country. It would be in keeping with analogy that a separate tomb should be prepared for Prosohos. Of this I have met several examples.

Wilhelm is gently sarcastic about Cronin's text, wrongly taking θεῶν as equivalent to θεῷ! Cronin was surely justified in believing that any epigraphist would understand θεῶν as the ordinary form of θεόν, but this assumption was evidently mistaken. The marks at the end of 1, 2 are not part of γ (as Wilhelm assumes). Incidentally it may be noted that the use of this verb implies some ceremony of purification and fumigation which was performed to consecrate the tomb. The tomb is the temple and residence of the new god and must be treated with every respect according to an established ritual.

Wilhelm finds fault with Cronin for saying that the letter T is perhaps on the stone, without indicating it in his epigraphic text. It is not easy to

¹⁴² Wilhelm seems doubtful whether φροντίς (repeated by error in 3) or φροντεῖς should be read.

get type to indicate the more possibility of a ligature; even in the zinc I find it difficult to attain this result. Wilhelm does not, however, explain how the feminine Marsalla can be a second name of Valens whom he conjures up in 2. I take it as a grecised feminine from Marcus.

The last seven lines present great difficulty on account of their irregularity. The stone is a round rough cippus without ornament, and the surface is much injured. There was no trace of lost letters on the right, but I noted that certainly letters are lost on the left in 1, 2, 7-10, and, considering the state of the cippus, it seems possible that some letters have been lost on the right, although no appearance remains that they were there, except in 10. 1.

The verb *παραστέομαι*, 'gain an income from,' is quoted from Strabo, Philostratos, and Josephus; and the expression *παραστέομενα χρήματα*, with regard to money received as income, is also used. Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 5. 3., has the expression *γῆ παραστέομενη*, 'land from which profit is gained.' In the present inscription there was a plot of land (*τόπος*) and a sepulchral building of some kind upon the land, such a *tērōs* is mentioned in many epitaphs. Sepulchral inscriptions are to be looked upon as testamentary regulations with regard to property. The *tērōs* might be turned to profit by growing λάχανα for sale in the city (see No. XVIII.), but this, according to my proposed restoration, was forbidden in the testament of Valerius Fronto even after the death of his children. It can well be imagined that the respect paid to a grave and its surroundings would diminish in the lapse of time, and that while there was little danger that the land should be used as a kitchen-garden during the lifetime of the children of Fronto, he was anxious to guard against profligation in a later generation. Even although the plot of land continued in the possession of his family, he dreaded that his later heirs should turn the land to profit, and in the neighbourhood of a great city there was a temptation to grow vegetables for sale.¹²

The shape of the lettering leaves no doubt in my mind that the inscription belongs to about 90 A.D., and Valerius Fronto belongs to a family which took its name from officials of the province of Galatia. Hirius Fronto Nentius Pansa governed Galatia-Cappadocia 78-80 A.D. His cognomen Fronto occurs very often, and both Nentius and Pansa are also used in South Galatia.

XXVII. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 222, No. 223, quotes an inscription from my C.B.Phr. p. 157, No. 67, *εἰ δὲ τις τὴν στήλην καθάπτει η μαῖευτα, οὐαὶ τοις παισίς εἰσαγγεῖλαι*; and says that he has shown (A.E.Mitt. xx. 86) the true reading to be *[ἀφ]μαῖευτα*, but in that place he merely puts the question whether the one word should be substituted for the other. The question grew into a point in the mind of the distinguished scholar as time passed.

The inscription is on a small marble tablet and is perfectly preserved. I never saw an inscription in more perfect condition. Seeing a word new to me, I naturally examined it with most scrupulous care and can guarantee the reading. It might be supposed that there was an error of the stonemason;

¹² Flowers or vegetables for grave plots at Akmeia, *Nec.* 51, *Anc.* 1991, p. 275 (read *παραστέομενα χρήματα*), C.B.Phr. II. p. 562.

this is possible, but (as I think) improbable, because it reads two alternative verbs both meaning 'to destroy.' Now the common custom was to guard against destruction or injury. The first verb *καταπέπει* sufficiently guards against destruction, and the second verb should be some word indicating slight injury, not a word implying total destruction.¹²⁰ It is true that *ἀφανίζειν* is used in the sense of 'to obliterate' or 'obscure' but these cases, so far as I have examined them, seem hardly to justify in this place the translation 'to disfigure.' If, however, that translation could be justified then the alternative would be good, as the prohibition would be against the destruction or disfiguring of the *stele*. The question, however, is whether there results from Wilhelm's conjecture sufficient improvement to justify the hypothesis that the engraver made an error. Except in really serious grounds mere hypothesis ought to be avoided.

I therefore maintain that the reading as published is correct, and not an error of the stonemason. Although the verb does not occur elsewhere, the adjective from which it is derived in quite correct fashion is used in Attic prose. It is possible that the use of *μαρτυρῶ* in a Phrygian epitaph was encouraged by the use of a similar word in the Phrygian dialect. The Phrygian language was probably spoken in the district at the time, though Greek had established itself in all known written documents (often hardly intelligible Greek).

XXVIII. *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 424. I may be permitted to call attention once more to the epitaph of St. Aberkios (*Avereius Murellus*), as it continues to be restored by some on the supposition that Sterrett and I misread it in one important detail: it is stated that, inasmuch as the *H* (which we read in *βασιλ[ε]ψ*) 1, 2) comes at the edge of an old break in the stone and is non-existent now, therefore there can have been no *H* on the stone in 1883. This argument is emphasised by Monseigneur Duchesne and by others; but, if they had more experience of the fate of marbles in Asia Minor, they would know that a heavy stone like this could not be carried by Turks nearly thirty miles across the mountains to the railway and then transported by rail and steamer to Rome without the edges suffering slightly. Now we read on the stone quite certainly in 1883 the left-hand half of the letter *H*. It was not *E*, because there were no cross strokes at top and bottom, only the beginning of a cross stroke in the middle. As the *H* was certain, and as the text had to be reproduced by type, I thought it best to give the letter complete in order to avoid uncertainty. This ought to have been stated in the text of my article, but it is not easy in writing a long article amidst many impediments to remember everything, and I had only scanty opportunity of correcting proof-sheets in those days. The article was merely a first sketch of a future book (now published in part as '*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*'). The most important thing at that time seemed to be to place before the public, even in a form far

¹²⁰ The alternative *διαρρήγει* & *ἀφανίζει* (in stating two widely diverse ways of violating *μητρά*) is correct (*R.G.H.* 1883, p. 33), as the grave.

from satisfactory to myself, the numerous discoveries that were made from day to day. This I explained at the time in private letters to various scholars interested, but the false opinion, having been established by such high authority as that of Monsigneur Duchesne, maintained itself in some circles. When Storrett and I found this stone in 1882, directing our journey specially (*see J.H.S.* 1882 p. 381) to look for the hot springs promised by the Saint's prayer, and well aware of the exceptional importance of his epitaph; we were not inclined to neglect the reading. We arrived late and camped beside the hot springs which the Saint is said in the legend to have produced by his prayers, and whose existence was the confirmation of my published argument. Storrett, being first ready in the morning, looked into the bath-house, and reported that there was inside only one fragment of a 'written stone.' We took breakfast, happy to have discovered the hot springs and proved the historical character of the Saint. Soon we had a joyful surprise, for that stone was the altar that stood over the Saint's grave. Storrett had never seen the inscription composed by the Saint and preserved in his legendary biography, whereas I had written about it, and knew it by heart, though I had never even ventured to hope that we should be so fortunate as to find it. At a glance I recognised the familiar words, and we devoted a long time and the utmost care to getting every scrap of information about the text that could be obtained. In these circumstances I have no hesitation in saying that the reading ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ is certain, and all discussion must start from this.

XXIX. *J.H.S.* 1884, p. 259; at Kara-Holja, 5 miles S.E. of the hot springs, now Merkes (Headquarters) of the Haimanat. Ηερπα Μυρικον.¹¹⁵ The surface is worn and part of the text obliterated. To the epitaph of Statilia her husband engraved the following remarkable appendix. The text illustrates excellently the principles of this article; the copy by Storrett and myself is right and my distrust of our accuracy concealed our remarkable feature of a unique inscription.

Στατιλίᾳ ξώτα προνῆστρα ταπαθήσεις εἶναι την ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]ξιν
καὶ φέλλα διο ἀφρύρα· καὶ [το]ι μὴ ἀπασιόδη. Οστορ Δίκεορ, Ηλιας Κύπρος,
ινεῖς ἐξ[δ]ικήσατε πίθεον ρεκύρα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ξωτ[α].¹¹⁶

Statilia died after pledging (as security for a loan, doubtless) an emerald and two silver armlets with 'a certain person,' whose name as I fancied, was intentionally concealed, but on whom divine vengeance was invoked if the pledge were not returned. I conjectured that an adjective describing the emerald was intended. Buckler justifies the copy and makes the text vastly more important by reading εἶναι την λέπαρον.¹¹⁷ The jewelry was pledged with

¹¹⁵ *H.G.A. M.* pp. 256, 257. The form is doubtful: it was the test of St. Agapit. The resemblance Merkes-Myrikha seems accidental, as the Haimanat was made Merkes or the Kara-Holja only about 1860.

¹¹⁶ I change the published spelling to follow exactly that on the stone. ΙΜ was a

ligature of ΝΜ, intended in the copy. Α was inserted instead of Δ.

¹¹⁷ I change his text in one detail, as stated here. Perhaps ΤΠΝ should be converted to ΤΡΝ, τ[ρά]ς; but it is safer to follow the copy. Ε for ε in ισ[ε]ρον.

'the priestess' of the local sanctuary at the hot springs the seat of the Anatolian Mother. The priestess is not named because she acts in her official capacity, i.e. the loan was made by the temple on security, and a copy of the deed was kept by each party. When Statilia died, the transaction was recorded on her tomb; her new home, where she speaks to all. This form of appeal was to Anatolian feeling the most solemn adjuration, but usually it was written on lead and placed in the grave.

That temples engaged in finance on a large scale has long been known; this epitaph proves that they did not despise the humbler rôle of a *Mout de Pidé* on the central plateau, the goddess's own land. Buckler prefers *έδεικτον τινα ιπέρ*, taking *τινα* for *ις* (*sic*); he quotes four cases of suppression of final sigma (one in the case of *ις*) in *J.H.S.* 1917, p. 93. I cannot follow him in this one detail. (1) It is true that final sigma sometimes disappears, as he has shown, but *είς* does not drop *ς* before the article; on the contrary, the *ε* there had strong vitality (while the vowel often disappeared as in *Σαγγά*, *Σαμβό*, etc.); cp. *είς τὰς εἰσοδιὰς* on the 20th day of the month, a common late expression. (2) The use of double accusative instead of accusative and dative is common in Central Anatolia from c. 200 or earlier. Examples are collected in my *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 278; they could be much more than doubled now. This usage was a symptom of growing confusion of the cases. Whereas the force of the tense was well observed in late Anatolian Greek inscriptions, the cases were jumbled, cp. No. XVI.

This Appendix to Buckler's text suggests so many interesting lines of thought that I cannot enter on them at the end of a long paper. I only confirm what was said in the previous publication and add that the divine power is appealed to impersonally as *"Οὐρανὸς Δίκαιος"*.¹²² This power is often mentioned personally in both singular and plural; it exemplifies and thereby teaches men the principles of right conduct towards the dead and the living. The all-seeing witness *Sun* is often appealed to as avenger of crimes, cp. *Dominus Sol tu indicies reus mortem* quoted by Leblant *Inschr. Christ. de la Gaule* i, p. 290, from Vitorini *in Bellis d'Oro*, p. 38; also *Statilia Pinatiro* iii, No. 258, p. 229, and *C.B.Phr.*, No. 187 (in the latter Buckler justifies my copy against my 'correction' reading Γῆ Άλο*(ιπέρου γενεών)*).

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹²² *Acts* xvii. 29; cf. *Acta*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire:
Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine. Par M. JEAN MASPERO. Tome III.
Pp. xxxi+230, with 8 Plates and Portrait of the Editor. [Service des Antiquités
de l'Egypte.] Le Caire: Imprimeur de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale,
1916.

When the late Jean Maspero began the catalogue of which the present is the concluding volume, he intended to include in it all the papyri of the Byzantine age (an age which, contrary to the usual contemporary practice, he dates from A.D. 395) in the Cairo Museum; but it appears from the introduction to the present volume that this intention was subsequently abandoned, perhaps in consequence of the editor's removal from Egypt to France. In any case the third volume would actually have been the last to be produced by him; for while it was passing through the press the war broke over Europe, and seven months later, on February 17, 1915, the gifted editor, who had already done so much valuable work and gain much prestige of yet more, fell, at the age of twenty-nine, in the French attack on Vauquois. In the three volumes of his catalogue are included, not all the papyri of the Byzantine period as defined by him, but only the sixth-century papyri from Kôm Ishqan (Aphrodite), the first, though by far the largest, of the three groups into which, in the Introduction to his first volume, he divided the Cairo Byzantine papyri. Jean Maspero did not live to see the publication of volume III. It was issued under the supervision of his father, Sir Gaston Maspero, so soon to follow him to the grave, who has prefixed to it a most interesting memoir of his son, with extracts from his diary during the war and two specimens of his poems, besides a bibliography of his work.

It is a testimony to the wealth of the Kôm Ishqan find that this third bulky volume of texts drawn exclusively from it, in addition to the numerous papyri of the same provenance at El-Minya, London, and elsewhere, shows no falling off in interest as compared with the two earlier volumes. It contains several texts of quite unusual interest; the most remarkable is 67205, previously published separately by the editor, the principal text in which is the *dieropisros* (will) of Horapollion son of Asclepiades, a professor of philosophy at Alexandria, whom Maspero identifies, no doubt correctly, with the pagan philosopher mentioned by Suidas and others, the reputed author of an extant treatise on the hieroglyphic script. The document is not an original, but a copy probably made for, or bought by, the Aphrodite notary Diocorus because of Horapollion's literary reputation; but it is none the less valuable as bringing us for once into direct touch with an extant author, concerning whose life and fortunes it furnishes us with some interesting details. Another notable text is 67283, the petition of a large number of representative villagers of Aphrodite to the Emperor Theodosius, under whose reign the village had placed itself.

In comparison with these outstanding texts the others are of less general interest; but they contain much material of great value to the papyrologist and the student of Byzantine legal, social, economic, and administrative conditions. Special mention may be made of the original prefectal *protodikyon*, a commissioning of the prefectial officers to a subprefectural official, two documents of *emphyteusis*, a lease of a wagon with a

generous list of its appurtenances containing many unusual words, a parents-apprenticeship contract of a hybrid kind, a marriage contract of an unusual type (the rough draft of a document preserved in its final form in a papyrus of the British Museum), an interesting will, two partitions of property, a series of contracts of surety (*kyphai*) for rural gentrymen (*farmers en typhatros*), addressed to a scribe, and the minutes of a legal process; all these in addition to numerous texts of more common types. There are besides some literary papyri, mainly poems by Diogenes, yielding nothing in sadness to his other efforts in this line.

The editorial work is, as usual, well done, though no doubt the volume has suffered to some extent from not having received the author's final revision; the last text in the volume, for instance, a register of the Arab period, included for the sake of completeness as it came from Aphrodite, is obviously capable of improvement. But an examination of the volume as a whole will only increase the regret papyrologists must feel for the untimely death of so brilliant a worker in their field.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XII. By BENJAMIN P. GREENAWAY and ALFRED S. HOGG. Pp. xi + 262, with 9 Plates. London. Egypt Exploration Fund. 1916. 25s.

This volume illustrates afresh the almost inexhaustible riches of the Oxyrhynchus finds. It has not indeed quite the varied interest of some other volumes of the series, since it contains no literary texts (its predecessor consisted entirely of literary or quasi-literary papyri); but for the papyrologist it yields in importance no but few of its predecessors, and it goes without saying that it is edited with all the thoroughness, meticulousness, and wealth of knowledge which we expect from its editors.

The texts which have attracted most attention are the series 1412-1439, which concern the senate of Oxyrhynchus, and particularly 1413-1415, which are actual reports of proceedings in that body. These documents are indeed of exceptional interest, as throwing light on the procedure not only at Oxyrhynchus but no doubt also in other cities; but there are many other texts in the volume which contain important evidence on other points of no small interest to the editor or occasion for valuable discussions on general problems of papyrology. The documents reporting the proceedings of the senate are unfortunately by no means complete, and though in many cases the editors have acted at practically certain restorations, in others they have preferred to leave problems unsolved, while in some their solutions are open to question. On 1412, 1-3 the editors have an extremely important note on the municipal *commissarii*, tending to modify considerably the views on the subject hitherto held. It may be remarked that in 1413, § 8 the editors' alternative reading (*kyphai*) is perhaps more likely than the *Sokherai* adopted in the text, the *kyphai* trying to justify their own restoration of *Sokherai*.

The first document in the volume, 1405, is of considerable importance owing to its bearing on the case before. It is of special importance if the editors' view, that the ceiling in this case was of the whole property not merely of two-thirds, be accepted; but this is by no means certain. It is, however, impossible, as the peasant writer satisfied himself in a recent visit to Oxford, in 1898 to read *ed apylēs* and *typhai*, which might be suggested. Another interesting document is 1408, which contains a circular of a *diametros*; and another is 1411, relating to the coinage. 1426-1427, referring to the requisitioning of workmen for service outside their own town, are also of interest; reference might be made to the procedure in Anti three, seen in the fourth volume of the London Papyri. Several of the documents relating to taxation are of some importance. In 1414, 19, 21, 29 it may be suggested that a man, despite the case, perhaps refers to the village (*vassos*), not to a taxpayer. There are some good epistles documents and also several valuable notifications to archaikontes. The papyrus which, after the texts referring to the senate, have attracted most attention are the horaebooks

(1476, 1563 &c); the editors' introduction to 1476 is epoch-making for the chronology of the period referred to. From among the 'minor documents' at the end there is a good deal of interesting material. It may be noted, by the way, that *hybrid* (1568) is not really a new word; it occurs also in P. Calz. Mag. ii. 62166, 9, where Maspero, however, as it now appears, explains it as *inportionate* for *hybrid*.

From Pericles to Philip. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. xi + 385. London: Methuen, 1917.

Mr. Glover presents his learning, which is deep, with a generosity that makes this book more pleasant to read than any work on Greek history that has come into our hands for many years past. It is all the more pleasant because, without indulging in excessive hero-worship, he is able to see the good in most of the men whom he picks out to illustrate the period. In other words, he has the gift of sympathy, without which the writing of history is better left alone, unless it is desired to produce merely reference books of the type of *Baedeker* or *Nisse*. His method—which is to make particular men or places the subject of essays—of course makes it easier for him to avoid the monotony of completeness; though we fancy that he could hardly be dull even if he were writing an anti-clerical account of the period. And as his sole object appears to be to evoke the spirit of the time, and not to prove some theory of his own, the reader is not troubled with any suspicion that the facts may be conveniently or unconsciously distorted for the benefit of some theory. Thus, as to the real cause of the Peloponnesian War, we are not quite sure whether Mr. Glover has made up his mind; but what he does seem to make us realise is that there were many causes as to the cause even at the time, and that probably there was something in most of them. One cannot read any historical work at the present time without being struck by analogies between the past and the crisis, through which the world is passing. Some of the analogies are trivial—one can hardly, for instance, fail to think of the present time *hacquemant* everybody *mercurius* in connection with the attitude of Germany to certain other nationalities. But there is a deeper analogy than this in the general resemblance between the experience of the Greeks in the Peloponnesian War and our own, which Mr. Glover, in his Prologue chapter, has been quick to grasp, though he never fails to press it in his text. In the time of the great struggle between Athens and Sparta there were many men who were sure that the Spartan constitution was the more 'efficient', and later, Isocrates was sure that the salvation of the world was to come from the man against whom Demosthenes fought in vain. 'It is hard to imagine anyone who (in Longinus' phrase) would choose to be Isocrates rather than Demosthenes; but the course of events fulfilled the dreams of the smaller man, so far as the outward look of things went.' So, too, is there anyone who, in spite of the end of the Peloponnesian War, would choose to be a Spartan soldier, than an Athenian. The question may help to provide us with an answer to those who tell us, with a certain naïvete of tenth, of the greater efficiency of the system of one opinion.

It is characteristic of Mr. Glover's catholic treatment that, although he is on the side of the angels all the time, Xenophon, whose sympathies as a soldier and a statesman were with the Spartans, is his favourite. We confess to a whole-hearted agreement with him in his admiration of Xenophon as a writer, and are sure that if the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia* were not used as textbooks to devote youth, they would be much more highly appreciated in after life than they are. In his chapter on Persia (with Greece playing the second part) Mr. Glover has attempted a difficult task. It is much more difficult than writing a history of the Crusades from Arabic sources, because we know practically nothing of Persian history at the time except what the Greeks tell us, and one of the chief authorities, at least, commonly needs to filter, and to write dreams of his own head. But he has made a very interesting chapter out of his material, such as it is. We should much have liked a chapter on the Greeks in Sicily, the lack of which is the only blemish in the proportions of an admirable and inspiring book.

A History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C. By PERCY GARDNER. Pp. xxii + 483. With 11 Plates. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918. 18s.

Professor Gardner's recent articles on certain chapters in the history of Greek coinage, published in this Journal and in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, known as they were to be of the nature of pre-bulletins for a fuller discussion of the whole subject, raised high expectations of the book which is now before us. From one—but not from a scientific—point of view, it may be a mistake to serve up the titbits of your feast in advance. You may disappoint readers who expect the whole to be equally succinct. The brilliant identification of the coinage of the Ionian Revolt as a standard which the author has naturally found difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, even in those parts of the book which have the air of having been written rather in order to complete the energy than lucency—the writer had, any new discovery to impart, his characteristic qualities of shrewdness of observation and soundness of judgment are everywhere apparent.

It is impossible in a review to give even a summary idea of the main argument of a book which covers, in a series of closely related chapters, the whole subject of Greek coinage as illustrating economic relations during the period concerned. It is probably, however, not unfair to the author to say that one of his main objects is, by tracing the distribution and modification of the various coin-standards to show how these were affected by, or how they illustrate, not merely the course of trade, but also the political relations between the various states of the ancient world. The book is most conversant with such questions of coin-standards, though the valuable chapter on the Athenian Empire shows how the Athenians, not content with enforcing the use of their standard on the unfortunate 'Allies,' actually caused them, in most cases, to dispense with their local coinages altogether. As a general criticism we may hazard the remark that the author is sometimes too aptly inclined to connect identity of standard with political relations. Where the weights are not adjusted with the security to which modern usages accustomed, standards may appear identical though they are quite different in origin. Another point to be remembered is that coins of a common weight travel much farther than communities of any particular kind. The fact that Maria Theresa dollars are the staple silver currency of Arabia and Abyssinia does not prove closer commercial or economic, much less political, relations between Austria and those countries.

As regards method, the most important feature of the book is its treatment of the subject, so to speak, by horizontal instead of vertical sections. That is to say, instead of giving the history of the coinage of one state from beginning to end, it surveys the whole Greek world by periods. The method, though it has been employed before for a single country, is now on no large a scale. It has the defects of its qualities. It brings out many new facts; but owing to the discontinuity and inequality of distribution of the material, it produces a jerky effect, and the gaps in the structure are too often merely apparent (to which, scientifically, there can be no objection), but distracting. Unlike every other book by the same author, this is anything but easy reading.

An Introduction of sixty-six pages deals with a number of general questions, on none of which we wish more had been said. Thus the discussion of the primitive predecessors of coinage proper is rather slight. (On p. 27 the electrum rings from Mycenaean Islands are wrongly described as being of silver, like that from Crete.) We should have welcomed some criticism of the recent absolute identification of various objects as primitive money, such as the gold disks from Mycenae, the copper ingots from various places (which are quite absurdly supposed to represent a primitive axe-currency). As it is, the only things of the kind which receive consideration are the iron obisks from the Argive Heraeum, as to the identity of which with Phœnix's dedication Professor Gardner is sceptical. On the electrum and gold coinages there is much that is illuminating; the way in which the Cretan coinage superseded the electrum coinage about the middle of the sixth century, and in which the latter was revived during the Ionian Revolt, and then

continued by the Cyzicene and other electrum coinages of the fifth century, in very well brought out, and much that was before confused becomes clear. We doubt, however, whether any Persian darics were struck before the reign of Darius Hystaspis. The Persians were very conservative folk, and having done without coins so long would not have thought it necessary to continue the economic policy of Cyrus; after his fall as to the headless king on a rare variety of the daric, it is hardly possible, on stylistic grounds, to bring it down so late as the time of Alexander the Great. On the early Attic coinage, a good point is made in showing how the origin of the silver standard seems to be due to adjustment by an earlier standard of bronze. (The *άργυρος*, by the way, could have been a round 'ake' of metal, not a spil, like the oboliskos, although its weight may have been the same.) The vexed question of the Athenian colossus is of course dealt with in detail. It is impossible to go into it here. But Professor Gardner entirely misrepresents Head's view in saying that he assigns the earliest coins with the head of Athena to the early years of the sixth century, and to the reign of Solon. They are distinctly classified (*Hist. Num.*² pp. 308-9) in the Post-Solonian and Peisistratid periods, circa 560-534 B.C.¹ In fact, I believe nearly all numismatists are agreed in accepting the Peisistratid origin of the 'owls.' In regard to the Attic coinage, Professor Gardner's emphasis on the distinction between the Euboic and Attic weights, here and elsewhere, is very valuable. We have already mentioned the important chapter on the coinage of the Athenian Empire. To reply to the question on p. 227, why Aristophanes introduces the 'Okephoros' in the decree about weights and measures (*Birds*, 1040), we may hazard the conjecture that it was a milti pike—Aristophanes and the first Tellinus have that name in mind. The 'gold tetradrachm' mentioned on p. 225, from the inventories of the Parthenon, can hardly have been a double stater of Cyzicus or Lampsinus (which would have been called a drachma). It was nothing less than a reproduction in gold of an ordinary Attic silver tetradrachm.² The statement on p. 267 that the drachmas of Samos ('silver exceeding 94 grains') must have been reckoned as equivalent to Peisistratus drachmas, though they usually decidedly exceed them in weight, is hard to accept. There was in such excessive plenty of silver in the immediate neighbourhood that we know of to justify this reckoning on the same grounds as we explain the high weight of the gold staters of Panioniaena. The puzzling question of the coinages of Nea Sybaris and Thurii might have received fuller treatment. The date of the first Athenian foundation at Nea Sybaris was probably 415 (not 423, which was the year when Thurii was founded). In regard to certain gold pieces of small denomination Professor Gardner exhibits a good deal of scepticism. Thus to him the little gold coins of Cumae are suspect, though the helmet-type of one of them would be very spurious if it were issued immediately after Hieron's victory in 474; so is the gold attributed to Corinth. And he ignores altogether the rare piece of Sicilian Messene, which, if genuine, belongs to the same period as the Cumae coins.

The identification of the head on the gold staters of Philip as Ares seems to me to be fallacious. We cannot possibly agree from the head inscribed ΑΡΕΩΣ in coins issued more than fifty years later by the Mantineans, because that head is copied directly from

¹ Cf. the Hebrew title Ark. obverse, Joseph, *Ant. Ital.* II. 6, 7; *G. Rev.* xii. p. 236, which names both a round 'ake' and a weight of 300 shekels.

² Head says the coins extend "from the earlier half of the sixth century," which is not the same thing as saying that they begin in the early years of that century. In my *Historical Greek Coins* (1908), which Professor Gardner does not cite, I have adopted a chronology much closer to that which finds favour with him than the one proposed in 1897 in my

notebook on Solon's lifetime. But I confess it seems to me to be very arbitrary to assign to Athens only the owl and the amphora (Head takes only the owl) out of a series of 'Wappensmünzen' which are all of the same fabric. This question is still far from settled.

³ I have given the proof of this in *Hermes*, 1901, p. 317. The statement in Roberts and Gardner, *Ant. to 1800* *Hagiography*, p. 200, that the weight is too high in proportion, is incorrect. The weight, by comparison of the sp. gr. of gold and silver, is exact.

the head called *Zeus Iulianus* on coins of Syracuse, which itself is copied from the coins of Philip. Since the god on the Philips is sometimes represented with long hair, we may continue to call him Apollo.

In conclusion, a few small points may be noted for correction or explanation in a second edition. P. 49: *Six* eight, but six drachm to the dinarum. P. 57: Where are the 'silver coins' struck by the Jews for offerings in the Temple? Surely they used, except in times of peace, the coinage of the Gentiles, possibly melting it down, but, so far as we know, not restriking it. P. 41: The absence of small Attic silver in Sicilian or Asiatic foundries has nothing to do with the right of coinage of Sicilian or Asiatic cities; it is simply due to convenience of trade that only the larger denominations travelled so far. P. 123: Wröth's article on *Papathetes* was published in this *Journal*, not in *Croesus Nomismatist*. P. 172: For *B.M. Sicilia* read *Pipara*. P. 295: The forgaries referred to as bronze 'washed' with silver are not washed, but thickly plated. P. 322: The statement that the Persian darics were the only coins of pure gold in use in the world before the issue of Attic gold ignores the Cyprian mithra and earliest Cyrenean gold. P. 308: 'The Hirsh sale,' without indication of date or number, misleadingly suggests a sale of the famous Hirsh collection (which we trust was removed from Brussels to some safe place in 1914), instead of one of the periodical sales of stock conducted by a Munich dealer. P. 342: 'Mak-Karth' (or Makkarth or, better, Mc-part) suggests a false etymology, connecting with Karlsruhe. P. 345: Gibal is stated to have been within the circle of Persian influence; but, as is shown on p. 342, it used the Phoenician standard, like Tyre and Sidon. P. 350: The Bosnian Charopinus belonged to the second century BC. The name ΧΑΡΟΠΟΣ on the fourth-century coins is more probably that of Charon.

(*J. F. H.*)

Traité entre Delphes et Pélâma. By B. Haussmüller. [Bibliothèque des Théâtres Étrangers.] Pp. viii+180. Paris: H. Champion, 1917.

This is the first edition of fragments found at Delphi in 1892-3 of a treaty (*diploma*) made about 290 B.C. between Delphi and Pella for the judicial settlement of claims by citizens of either state against those of the other. The text is based on (1) a copy by Bourguet printed in facsimile, (2) a revision by Haussmüller made from photographs, printed in micro-scale, and in some lines (a.a. I &c. 3 and 6) differing from Bourguet's copy. It seems possible that study of the originals may lead to further emendation. There is a good facsimile of fragment II.

That this document is an important addition to the forty-seven similar treaties collected by Hitzig (*Altgriechische und Frühchristliche Diplome*, 1897) will appear from this synopsis (the Greek terms within brackets are new): I a (15 l.) : institution of action; number of judges and their oaths; order of plenuries; objection to evidence (*zeugmata*); rating of judges; execution, especially in event of trial (*τροφηροί δικαίωσις*). I b (17 l.) : sale of objects seized or stolen; procedure against the thief (*θελάτης*); his duty when he gives security. II a (27 l.) : procedure in damages; damages due for thefts, warranty of mortables alleged to be stolen; recovery of runaway slaves. II b (25 l.) : appeal and execution; delays through suspension of tribunals.

Having been established in Part I (pp. 7-94), the text is in Part II (pp. 95-134) illustrated with a masterly array of literary and epigraphic material. In Part III, (pp. 135-172) are collected the testimonia which throw light on the history and institutions of Pella.

There follows a Conclusion (pp. 173-182), and indices (pp. 183-189). But for Haussmüller's brilliant restoration and interpretation the scientific value of these mutilated fragments would have been almost negligible. His book is a model of how so difficult a task should be performed.

Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe. A Reconstruction of the Prototypes. By GUNNAR SCHÜTTEN, Ph.D. Published by the Royal Danish Geographical Society. Pp. viii+180+xxiv (Illustrations). Copenhagen. H. Hagerup. 1917.

Within the past fifteen or twenty years an entirely new battle has developed in the field of Ptolemaic criticism. Up till about 1900 those scholars who based themselves with the *Geographus* were practically unanimous as to the worthlessness of the maps that accompany a number of the codices. Professor Carl Müller, for instance, whose unfinished edition represents the last great reversion of the text, openly regretted the time he had wasted on the collation of what he had come to regard as medieval compilations. Since Müller's death the discredited maps have found some doughty champions, the protagonist being Father Fischer of Friburgh. Relying on proofs which are still for the most part unpublished, Fischer and those who think with him maintain that the view propounded by Brohaer a century ago was fundamentally sound, and that the maps as they have come down to us are genuine ancient documents, that they constitute in fact Ptolemy's *veritabilis atlas*.

Those of us who are not yet completely committed to one side or other of the controversy will probably be content to suspend judgment until the new evidence is produced. Schütte feels no such need of hesitation. He has been in close communication with Fischer, and is a convinced believer in the authenticity of the maps. Taking their genuineness for granted, he finds it a factor of unique importance in the determination of Ptolemy's "sources." It is generally agreed that the great *Geographus* is a patchwork, here and there its statements are absurd or misleading, while at the opposite extreme are sections conveying information that is positively amazing in its accuracy. It would obviously be interesting and instructive, if we could dissect it and ascertain the materials of which it is composed. Hitherto all that has seemed indubitable is that the account of some districts is based upon Roman official maps or at all events upon maps of Roman roads. Schütte now claims that it is possible to go much further, and to draw confident deductions as to the "prototypes" out of which each of the originals of "the Ptolemaic constructor," as he calls him, was built up. He chooses the maps of Northern Europe as *propter ad* for a detailed example of the application of his method. His results are not always easy to follow. "prototype" is changed upon "prototype" with almost bewildering rapidity, each being assigned to its appropriate date and its probable "literary source." The magic word by which all this is achieved is the scientific minimization of error.

The general effect of the whole is unconvincing. At the same time the book is one with which all students of Ptolemy would do well to make acquaintance. Apart from the fact that it is an interesting experiment, much of the detail deserves careful study. There is nothing quite so brilliant as Hermann Müller's discovery of the Ptolemaic town of Lucciusca in the "ad eam totum in digressu rebellium" of Tacitus. But the suggested explanations of blundered names are almost always acute, and are very often sound. Curiously enough, Schütte does not seem to have realized that the weapon he employs has a double edge. In an article recently published in this journal¹ Tindley took it with very considerate success, to three deaths, on the authenticity of the very maps whose genuineness Schütte takes as the foundation of his argument. The truth is that an immense amount of "patchwork" has still to be done before we are within measurable distance of certainty. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Schütte gives 140 v. i. as the *floruit* of Marinus. This may be suitable enough for the particular maps which he selects for discussion, but it cannot be reconciled with Ptolemy's silence as to the Wall of Hadrian. That the book should be written in English is a great convenience for readers on this side of the North Sea. From this point of view it is an extremely creditable performance. But, in fairness to his own arguments, the author should have had it carefully revised by an English friend. Every now and again one is pulled up sharply by expressions that are intelligible only to those familiar with foreign idioms. M.

¹ 1917, pp. 62-77.

Plotinus. The Ethical Treatises. Volume I. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA.
11s. 8. Pp. viii + 138. London. P. Lee Warner, 1917. 16s. n.

This beautifully printed volume contains the First Ennead of Plotinus, preceded by Porphyry's Life of Plotinus and followed by notes on bibliography and terminology and a rendering of the Plotinian extracts in Ritter and Preller. Mr. Mackenna has aimed at producing a translation literary rather than literal, and he has attained his aim with conspicuous success. It is no easy task to achieve a smooth, graceful, and invariably lucid rendering of an author as enigmatical and difficult as Plotinus often is. Those who estimate him mainly by the splendid passages in Chidiock's *Tradition of Theology* should be reminded of the story how the critic Longinus could not make head or tail of copies of Plotinus' works, which, Porphyry assures us, were faithful reproductions of the author's own manuscript, and begged to have "correct copies" sent him. Porphyry, we know, edited the works of his master, who cared nothing about literary form and "whose one concern was for the idea"; but they still retain traces of a hurried and careless method of composition. It is true that Plotinus' mystical vocabulary, full of light and colour, his reminiscences of Plato, and his outbreaks of vestigial eloquence at times afford good opportunity to a translator. But Mr. Mackenna has thrown a graceful literary form over all his material, however intrastable, and the result is one of the pleasantest philosophical translations we have ever read. Well equipped philosophically and linguistically, he has followed with admirable skill the intricacies of Plotinian dialectics. We have never any doubt as to what he thinks that Plotinus means, and we nearly always feel that he has seized the meaning correctly. The ingenious paragraphing which Mr. Mackenna permits himself is a great assistance in following the argument.

To turn to details: Porphyry's interesting and well-written life of the philosopher who "sinned ashamed of being in the body" is gracefully rendered, but in a few passages a marked desire for conciseness has led the translator into unnecessary compression or inadvertent omission, e.g., at the end of c. 11 and c. 23. In c. 2 "malign Alphitonus" is an unsafe translation for τὸν ποιῶν ἀρρένα: the medical details suggest a lingering malady. In c. 10 "Ilyris" should be read for "Lydia," and in c. 18 τὸ βεβαῖον τὸ θλιαστὸν must mean, not "I put faith in," but "I was entranced with." Plotinus' writings (cf. the end of c. 7). Near the foot of p. 20 the words "reverse the meaning of the Greek, which says 'not even troubling to collect . . .' " The passage is not really inconsistent with l. 9 of the same page.

We cannot help feeling that the translation of the First Ennead is sometimes unnecessarily free in passages where a more exact rendering would have resulted in equally good English. Mr. Mackenna's metaphors are sometimes more vivid than those of the original, cf. p. 84, "a life considering duly under the curse of evil"; p. 87, "spurting the world of sense from beneath his feet"; p. 95, "by concession to this Absolutus"; p. 100, "can no longer hold its guest" (where the Greek has φέρει). *φέρει* and *ἀγάπει* are somewhat wilfully turned by "in times of stress" and "when we are at peace," p. 102, l. 18, and *καὶ γέρας* (τὸ) is not represented by "all other conditions perceptible to sense," (p. 101, l. 11). Delicate errors of translation are rare, but p. 91, l. 1 and p. 103, l. 7 we cannot reconcile with the original, and at p. 103, l. 4, "Are we able to affirm this by any vision we can have of it?" the translator seems to be taking the parenthetical τὸν αἰσθητὸν as though it were τὸν αἴσθητον. There are many passages in the original where sense and intonation are obscure, and Mr. Mackenna is to be congratulated on his skill in dealing with them. We have noted a number of small omissions, as on pp. 43, 47, 62 (in which case hear the first), and p. 109, ll. 24 and 26, "to p. 64, the printing". *Zenos*. . . At first sight suggests a hermit, not an asceticism, and at p. 109, l. 11 it is not very clear that the second "it" refers to suicide. Mr. Mackenna's c. 10 of "Treatise 8" omits four chapters according to the ordinary reckoning.

In an interesting note on the "method of the present translation" Mr. Mackenna

lets us into the secrets of his own work. Peccatum are anathema to him, and we have a suspicion that he has rendered Greek names by English persons, where English names would do just as well, for the express purpose of annoying them. A useful account of previous translations and communities is followed by eight pages on the terminology of Plotinus, which afford a brief popular introduction to the Plotinian system. Mr. Mackenna severely taxes M. Jules Simon for his 'most unphilosophical view' where Plotinus' magnificent attempt to explain the Universe is found to involve the contradiction—perhaps inevitable in all such efforts. Both Mr. Simon and Mr. Mackenna are deserving of sympathy. It all depends on the point of view. The world seems incomprehensible; so, certainly, is a philosophy which, undertaking to explain it, contains manifest contradictions. And are two incomprehensibles better than one incomprehensible? At the same time the system of Plotinus is the most impressive and, I believe, the most important exposition of philosophical mysticism in the world's literature. It must always appeal to the mystical type of mind, and we look forward to the day when the whole of it will be accessible to English readers in Mr. Mackenna's delightful translation.

The last thirty pages of the volume are devoted to the Ritter-Pröller extracts, which are translated 'in somewhat rough-and-ready fashion,' says Mr. Mackenna, for the benefit of the novice. He has added and omitted freely, and there are some instances of rather loose paraphrase. Still the translation is adapted to its purpose and rises to real eloquence in the famous passages on the 'Vision of the Supreme' and the 'Flight of the Alone to the Alone.' Several references are incorrectly given, e.g. v. 3. 9 for v. 1. 1; iii. 8. 8 for iii. 8. 10; iv. 8. 6 for iv. 8. 8; iv. 6. 9 for v. 6. 9, and misplaced inverted commas sometimes assign to Plotinus what is really comment by Ritter and Pröller, e.g. p. 128, l. 7 and l. 12, p. 130, l. 12.

J. H. S.

The Communings with Himself of Marcus-Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor of Rome, together with his Speeches and Sayings. A revised text and a translation into English by C. B. Haines, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xxvii + 414. [Loeb Library.] London: Heinemann, 1916. 5s.

This edition of Marcus Aurelius may be taken to mark a great advance in general usefulness over any yet issued in England. It was a good idea of Mr. Haines's to complete the picture of Marcus's personality by including in the volume not merely the Meditations themselves, but also a record, drawn from a variety of sources, of the Emperor's speeches and sayings, while the detailed index of matters, proper names, and Greek terms adds very considerably to the value of the work. The translation, if it marks no new departure, is at any rate quite up to standard from the point of view of readability and has proved itself commendably close to the original wherever the present reviewer has tested it more exactly.

Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants. With an English Translation by Sir George Holm, Bart., M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. xxviii + 475, 499, with Frontispiece. [Loeb Library.] London: Heinemann, 1916. Price 6s. per vol.

It may perhaps not be amiss to refer to the fact that botany has a literature. In view of the great advances which the science has made during the last half-century, and the many new points of view which have been established, the modern student is apt to overlook the work of the earlier botanists, or to pass it over as of little value. Ignorant for him is archaic, and pre-Linnean work non-existent. At the best his interest is satisfied by the period of Sachs' *History of Botany*, in the Clarendon Press English edition, a book which stands at the Continental herbarists of the sixteenth century. Those who would like to regulate the course of study for the present-day candidate may be asked to

best in mind that botany has many sides and appeals to differing temperaments, also that there is a literary side which may attract to the service of the science a type of mind that might otherwise stand aloof.

For the first time the English student has the opportunity of reading in his own tongue the earliest systematic treatise on botany. Sir Arthur Hart has done good service in rendering into English the Greek text of the old philosopher; the two versions appear in parallel pages, and the reader is to be congratulated on the handy form in which the work has been issued, in two pocket-volumes, as one of the series of the Leigh Library. In his preface the translator remarks that he is not a botanist, but he is known as a lover of plants, and has also had the help of the expert knowledge of Sir Wm. Thiselton-Dyer in the difficult task of identifying the plants mentioned by Theophrastus and expressing them by an English equivalent.

The text of the original is mainly that coloqued by Fr. Wimmer, published about 1859. In the Introduction Sir Arthur gives a brief account of the various textual authorities, editions, and commentaries, and also a short notice of Theophrastus' life and work. According to Diogenes Laertius, who wrote 400 years after Theophrastus' death, this father of botany was born in 370 B.C. at Eresos in Lesbos. He went to Athens at an early age and became a pupil of Plato and subsequently of Aristotle; the latter at his death bequeathed to Theophrastus his books and his garden in the grounds of the Lyceum. Sir Arthur refers to this garden as the source of many of the observations which Theophrastus records in his botanical works. Our author also enjoyed the patronage of Alexander of Macedon, who took with him to the East scientifically trained observers whose results were at the disposal of Theophrastus, and to whom he owed his accounts of such exotica plants as cinnamon, bayrum, pepper, saffron, and other spices. Sir Arthur also suggests that students of the Peripatetic school were employed in the collection of facts and observations—an assumption which will explain certain local touches in the text.

Theophrastus died about 285 B.C. He was a voluminous writer, and Diogenes gives a list of 227 treatises, comprising, besides the natural sciences, religion, politics, ethics, logic, education, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches. These still extant include the nine books of the 'Enquiry into Plants,' and the six books on 'The Causes of Plants.' There are also fragments of treatises, two of which, on 'Oils' and 'Woolfurnaces,' respectively, are included at the end of the second volume of Sir Arthur's translation;

The botanical student will be impressed with the great amount of bed-head information contained in the nine books of the 'Enquiry,' and with the remarkable observing powers of the author and his skill in systematising the results. He will be fain to remark not only 'what a great number of plants Theophrastus knew, but 'what a good deal he knew about them.' Right at the beginning the difficulty arises as to the comparison of plants with animals. 'We must not assume,' writes Theophrastus, 'that in all respects there is complete correspondence.' Book I., 'Of the parts of plants and their composition,' should interest the morphologist; the classification adopted is the familiar one, which still persists in a modified form even in John Ray's great work, 2000 years later, into trees, shrubs, under-shrubs, and herbs. The class 'under-shrubs' includes some plants which we should hesitate to classify as such—for instance, *Hippocratea*, translated 'myrrhagia lily, though Linnaeus *Hemerocallis* represented the day-lily, of which one species is a native of South Central Europe and might have been known to Theophrastus. The need for an ecological view is insisted on. 'We must take into account the locality. Such differences [of locality] would seem to give us a kind of division like classes—for instance, between that of aquatic plants and that of plants of the dry land. . . . For there are some plants which cannot live except in wet— and again these are distinguished from one another by their fondness for different kinds of wetness; so that some grow in marshes, others in lakes, others in rivers; etc. A true morphological conception presents difficulties. 'It is not right to call all that which is underground root . . . for we must base our definition on natural function and not on position.'

Obviously there is much that is quaint or erroneous in Thucydides' conception of plant organs and functions, but on the other hand the careful student will find the germ of many comparatively modern ideas in plant life and in horticulture, agriculture, and forestry.

The treatise on weather-signs embodies a good deal of local lore and also much that is common property. 'When the hawthorn-ash fruits exceedingly well, it generally indicates a severe winter' is a maxim with a familiar sound.

A useful feature is the Index of Plants at the end of the second volume. Of this Sir Arthur remarks:—'A considerable number of the identifications may be accepted as certain, many are probable, some no more than possible. The student who has the happy combination of a knowledge of Greek and of the flora of South-East Europe and the Near East may find an interesting task in further investigating the identity of the doubtful species.'

A. B. REXDELL.

Rapport sur une Mission en Crète et en Egypte (1912-1913). Par M. L. Franchet. [Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques xxii, 1.] Pp. 121, 6 plates. 31 figures in text. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.

M. Franchet, author of a monograph on *Céramique préhistorique* (Paris: Gauthier, 1911), was commissioned in 1912, by the Minister of Public Instruction, to study the primitive pottery of Crete and Egypt; in this concise preliminary report he presents some of his observations and conclusions, promising to follow it with a fully illustrated treatise. On the question of interaction between these two seats of early civilization his verdict is decidedly negative: 'ces deux peuples n'ont exercé l'un sur l'autre aucune influence appréciable dans le domaine des arts industriels' (p. 8). Elsewhere, however, he appears to admit direct influences in respect of decorative design.

The Crete section, comprising nearly two-thirds of the pamphlet, is mainly devoted to justifying a new system of chronological classification, for the author has chosen to discard the familiar Minoan periods. He has made a systematic and intelligent study of the material exhibited in the Capua Museum, but seems to be imperfectly acquainted with the literature of the excavations; consequently he propounds conclusions which are true but not new, though he supposes them to be original discoveries, and others which are new but not true. As regards his predecessor the author's tone is curiously peremptory: 'Les industries de la Pierre n'a jamais été étudiée en Crète avant mon arrivée' (p. 16). As for the Bronze Age, excavators were 'inopportunement préoccupés de la recherche des objets d'art and did not mind the circumstances under which they were discovered: "c'est pourquoi l'indice chronologique du Bronze est, pour la Crète, entièrement à faire" (p. 11). It is the same with the pottery of the Early Iron Age: 'sans prétexte qu'ille n'appartient plus à l'époque dico "Minoenne," ou plus exactement à l'âge du bronze, elle a été fort oubliée.' It was necessary, therefore, for M. Franchet to begin at the very beginning and see what he could find in the wreck. He finds that whole classes of objects have received too little attention, and oddly enough selects as an example the limestone figurines which give their name to the House of the Fetal Shrine at Knossos. He thinks the excavator would have thrown them away if they had not happened to be found in situ — 'mais combien d'autres ont été rejetées, lors des fouilles, dans les dévers d'habitat Crétos!' If he had read Sir Arthur Evans' account of this important find he would know that the first of the series was found not in the sanctuary at all, but outside it, and was instantly recognised as a fetal image (B.S.A. xi. 2). 'Il y a une autre catégorie d'objets qui a été plus négligée encore' — oddly shaped stones, coloured pebbles, shells, and so forth. He is puzzled by the rarity of 'les représentations sexuelles et communiques en Egypte': obviously, excavators must have overlooked them and thrown them away (p. 62). Italians, Americans, and British are equally guilty: 'there is none that doeth good, no, not one.'

The author is at his best in discussing the processes used by the Cretan potters. He gives some interesting pages to the discs of stone and earthenware, a foot or more in diameter and furnished with a central socket, which have been found at Gournia and other sites, and shows convincingly that they are potters' wheels, citing modern instances from India. A later section gives an excellent account of the turn-tables and kilns used by the Itzimont potters who make the grey jars which are found in every Cretan village; the diagrams may be compared with a set of photographs in our Society's collection, made some years ago to illustrate the same point, the probable survival of Bronze Age technique. He did other useful work outside the Museum by exploring the coast east of Gournia, noting possible sources for some of the variegated limestone and brucelles used in the manufacture of stone vases, and excavating some early house foundations on the plateau adjoining the Tripiti caves. Bronze Age remains are certainly abundant there, but it is doubtful whether the extremely true and regular rock-cuttings of which M. Franchot gives plans were the work of neolithic man, as he believes. If they are of that age, the superstructure is more likely to have been of stone or sun-dried brick than mere 'bretes en paillés ou en branchages.' Mr. Trubkine's discourses at Magoua prove that even on that remote upland stone huts were used in the neolithic age. Oyster-shells are abundant at Tripiti, as on many other coastal sites, but the specimen here figured as evidence of a microlithic industry may be of very different periods. Some resemble the neolithic tools of Magoua, others are Bronze Age types. The author is mistaken in thinking that secondary chipping does not occur on obsidian of the latter period. As regards the implements of limestone on which he relies for the 'Cappadocian' character of his settlement, we must await further publication of his actual finds. The regional and chronological range of the Cappadocian types is not so well determined, even in Northern France, as to justify the extension of the name to Crete and Egyptian strata—for M. Franchot, who has made a special study of these forms at home, claims to have discovered them also at Karak. On the Roussos plain, which lies about a mile east of Gournia and south of the hamlet of Kniada, he opened a number of low mounds containing rectangular stone enclosures (like the terraces of Palaikastro) or stones arranged in concentric circles. There was an abundance of broken pottery, belonging to the Middle Minoan I period—M. Franchot would say 'Bronze I'—but no trace of human remains: he asks doubtfully whether they were cremated. In the same region he began the excavation of a kiln over 20 ft. in diameter, containing vitreous masses resembling the green glass of the serpent goddesses and other objects found with them at Knossos. The completion of this piece of work and the analyses will be awaited with interest.

The latter part of the report deals with Egypt. An excavation at Karak enabled him to study the pottery of successive strata, and the spot chosen happened to be rich in votive offerings of the Middle Empire. The discussion of the technical peculiarities and evolution of Egyptian ceramics is lucid and suggestive. He thinks that the black glazed shoulder of prehistoric red ware was obtained by placing the pot to be fired mouth downwards in a larger bowl and packing powdered charcoal round it, a procedure for which there is a modern analogy on the Congo. After tracing the survival of primitive methods through the Crux-Rouen period, he discusses the processes used by the modern potters of the Fayoum, who make the well-known tables of offerings surrounded by fixed figures, cups, and decorative figures; some are illustrated in Plate VI., with part of an ancient prototype for comparison. At Nag-el-Fakhira, near Karak, there is a community of potters where the men have adopted the wheel, but the women mould the pot wholly by hand. Before being set to dry in the sun the wheel-made pots are strengthened by having a cord of palm-fibre twisted about them; without it they would be liable to crack, while in the case of the hand-made pots made with a paste containing less water, the precaution is unnecessary. Examples of this device, actual cord impressions and derivative ornaments, have often been noticed on early pottery, but the original motive has not always been understood.

Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle.
By GEORGE MALLON STRATTON. 8*o* x 6*o*. Pp. 227. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

This volume contains the text of Theophrastus' *τηλεοπτεία* with a translation and commentary, preceded by a detailed statement of Theophrastus' own views on sense perception and an account of his expository and critical methods. Prof. Stratton has produced a most scholarly and readable translation. By enclosing within brackets the numerous words necessary to complete the sense of the Greek, he shows at a glance how much the exact style affected by Peripatetic writers leaves to the imagination. The notes which necessarily contain much that is highly technical and controversial, owe a great deal to Prof. A. E. Taylor, who wrote for Prof. Stratton a running criticism of his translation and commentary. The author's obligations to Prof. Boire's *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition* are handsomely acknowledged.

Theophrastus starts his treatise with the remark that some investigators ascribe sense perception to similarity, others to contrast, and thus indicates at the outset the *a priori* character of Greek attempts to bridge the gulf between stimulus and sensation, a character inevitable in the absence of exact experimental methods. His procedure is first to give a statement of doctrine, and then to show that the doctrine fails to explain the facts or contains 'contradictions.' Thus, Democritus, the great apostle of subjectivity, after declaring that *tacra* are subjective effects, goes on to distinguish them by the varying figures of their objective stimuli; in other words, Democritus wants to have it both ways. This is deserved for holding that a substance is hot 'because of the sharpness of its angles' and then adopting an entirely disparate explanation of cold. The most effective of Theophrastus' criticisms are perhaps those levelled against the theory of atom-philosophy. The number of colours mentioned in cc. 76-78 as derived by Democritus from blends of his four primaries may come as something of a surprise to those who believe that the Greeks had little power of discriminating colours. Theophrastus' treatise is too technical to appeal to a wide circle of readers, but the historian of psychology may well feel grateful to Prof. Stratton for his valuable translation, notes, and essay.

J. H. S.

The Use of ΦΥΣΙΣ in Fifth-century Greek Literature. By JOHN WALTER BEARDMORE, JR. 8*o* x 6*o*. Pp. 126. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918.

Dr. Beardmore has undertaken 'to trace the history of the Greek word *φύσις* as known from its actual occurrences in the extant literature.' With this object he has minutely examined and interpreted all the instances of the use of the word in non-philosophical as well as philosophical writings of the fifth century. His results are decidedly interesting and tend to upset several commonly accepted theories. Among his conclusions are the following: that the 'natural history' sense of *φύσις* is a general term including all the characteristics and qualities of an object deserves to be called original and fundamental; that the meaning 'origin' is rare, though indubitable, as in Herodotus' *πέρι ὀρείων καὶ λόχων*; that there is no definite proof that any of the pre-Socratic philosophers, e.g. Heraclitus, prefixed the title *τερψ φύσιον* to his book, though they may have referred to their studies as *τερψ φύσις*; that they did not use *φύσις* as a technical term for their primary substance, as Professor Burnet maintains (*E.O.P.* p. 12). Dr. Beardmore, we think, proves that the evidence for Professor Burnet's view, which has become orthodox, is anything but strong. He shows too that *φύσις* almost always means the nature of some particular thing, and that the sense 'universal nature' is much less common than is supposed; the first occurrence of the word is equivalent to *τὸς ἄρχεις* or *τὸς λόγος* being in Euripides, *Troades* 889. Dr. Beardmore's discussion of the Sophists in his chapter on *τερψ* and *φύσις*

is perhaps the most interesting part of his book. He shows conclusively that there is no real evidence as to who first opposed conventional and natural morality (an opposition generally supposed to have been invented by Hippocrate) and makes a dashing attack on the theory that the Sophists were divided into two schools, Naturalists (Hippocrates, Protagoras) and Humanists (Protagoras, Gorgias, Sostratus, Thucydides); Dr. Beardson has done a piece of work which was well worth doing, and has done it very skilfully and conscientiously. If he does not always convince, he at least chastens us with the thought how slight is the evidence on which some of our favourite theories rest. The book concludes with a valuable index of fifth-century occurrences of *opion*.

J. H. S.

Studies in Greek Tragedy. Founded on lectures given to six students of Newnham College. By LOUISE K. MERRICK. Pp. x + 220. Cambridge University Press, 1918.

This book comprises studies of the *Prometheus Bound*, the *Ion*, the *Hippolytus*, and the *Heracles*, with a concluding essay on Aeschylus in ethics and literature. The lectures on which it is based were doubtless found stimulating and instructive by their original audience. The essays on the three plays of Euripides furnish the reader with a sound and useful analysis in each instance; that on the *Prometheus Bound* is largely taken up with an attempt to extract the *Prometheus Unbound* out of a very close analysis of the surviving play, and though generally on the right line, it loses its full share of the honour involved in putting such uniformly heavy pressure on the language of a dramatic poem. Incidentally, the author at one point relies on the authority of Proclus (at Verg., *Ecl.* 6, 43) for a certain development in the *Prometheus* story, but Proclus' short abstract of the myth is surely very inconclusive evidence for its handling by Aeschylus. And is it really true that Prometheus' *forrāris* (line 1. 268) is an acknowledgment of 'sin' as the author, following Mr. J. T. Sheppard, assumes? Need anyone help which notes than simple disobedience to Zeus, involving risks which Prometheus says he took with 'his eyes open'?

Aspects of Death and Correlated Aspects of Life in Art, Epigram, and Poetry. By F. PARKER WEBER. Third edition, revised and much enlarged. With 142 illustrations. Pp. xi + 784. London: T. Fisher Unwin and Bertram Quaritch, 1918.

Dr. Parker Weber's third edition appears (with an expanded title) only four years after his second, which was noticed in this *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 152-3. In this period—and that the period which has meant death to so many adventures in publication—the number of pages has grown from 461 to 784, and that of the illustrations from 126 to 145. The bulk of the book, thanks to the use of thinney paper, remains almost exactly the same. It has reached as far back to sum up of our doing little more than refer to our previous notice. Among the new illustrations from the antique may be mentioned the green-glass cup from Pola in the Berlin Antiquarium, another green glass amphora with dancing skeletons in the Louvre, the British Museum diptych with the Apotheosis of an Emperor, the Hellenistic or Roman stamped-clay drinking vessel at Olimbos with skeletons and—to be quite up to date—a number of the most recent efforts of German humour in the way of macabre medals. The author would be interested in the stamp of Louis Denuelle de Rossette, the sixteenth-century physician, now in the Historisches Museum at Basel, and recently published in the *Archiv für Schöpferische Altertumskunde*, on which the letter to the Doctor is enclosed in a pentagon, around which is written the word *YFIEIA*.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Handbook of the Classical Collection.*
By GISELA M. RICCIUS. 18p. xxix + 276. 150 illustrations. New York. 1917.

The reviewer who had undertaken to notice this volume having made default, we must be content at the last moment to do little more than call attention to its existence. It deserves a longer notice, for it is the best general introduction to Greek and Roman art that has come into our hands for some years. The New York Collection is small, inc., considering that it has been created in the last twelve years, very fairly representative, except of pre-historic art, and in this it shares its defect with most other museums outside of Greece. The special feature of the collection is its arrangement by periods, although this plan is not carried out, for obvious reasons, in respect of the large sculptures. The book is well written, with sound judgement, and produced with excellent taste; it ought to find a good public quite apart from visitors to the Metropolitan Museum.

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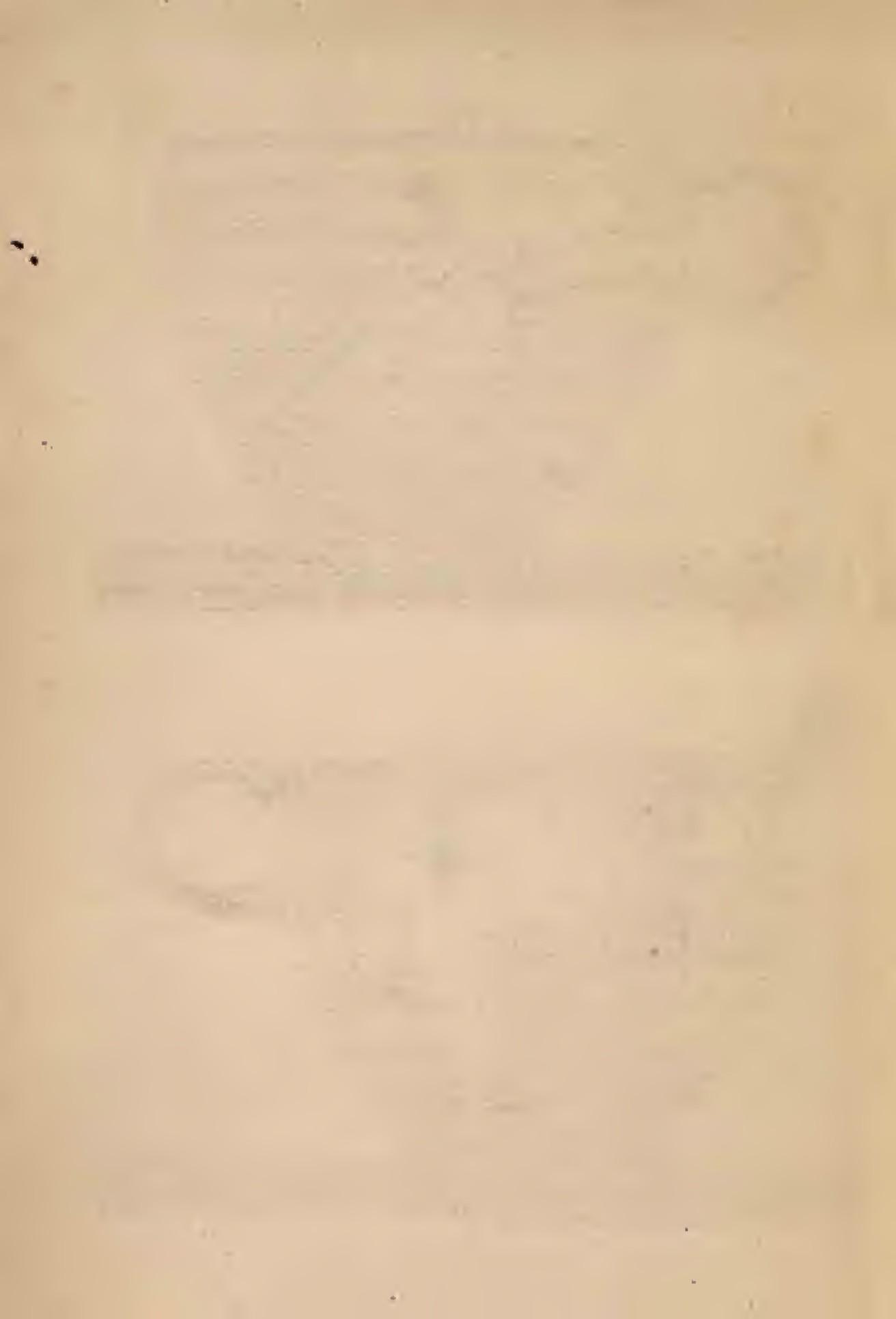
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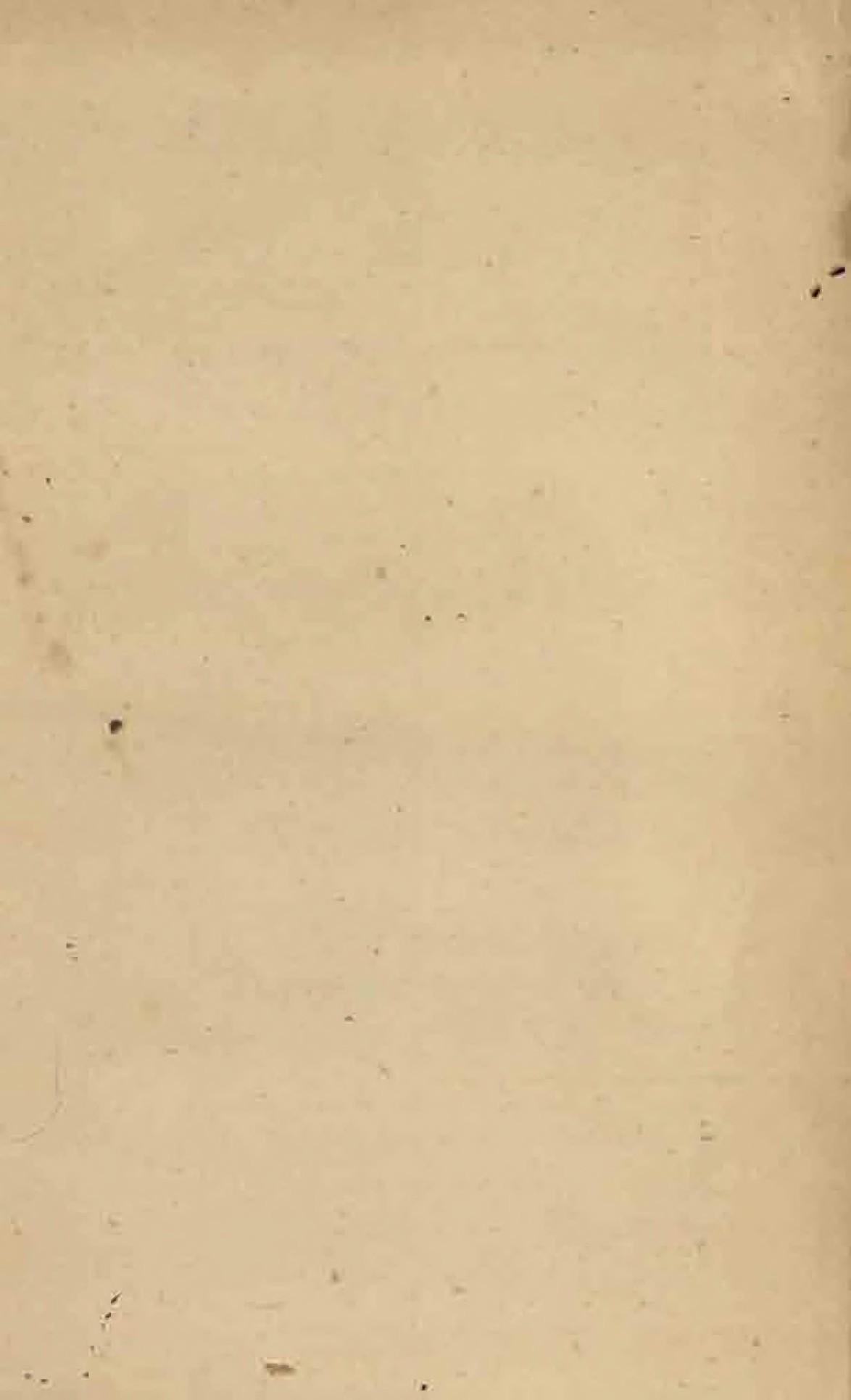






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